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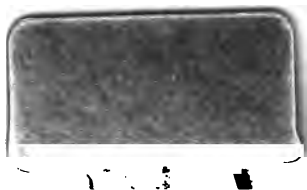
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AN ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

WITH EXAMINATION QUESTIONS  
AND NOTES.

BY THE  
AUTHOR OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST DECADE, ETC.



---

OXFORD :  
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## P R E F A C E .

THE favourable reception of the Analysis of the First Decade of Livy, has induced the Editor to attempt the Second upon a similar plan.

While condensation has been a leading object, he trusts that no particulars will be found omitted, which should come within the legitimate scope of Historical Analysis: he need not repeat the remark, that such helps are designed to confirm, not to supersede the careful reading of the original author.

The constant references to Niebuhr's admirable Lectures, as well as to other historical and antiquarian sources, will, it is hoped, prove an important feature in this little Book. If the comparative *antiquity* of certain publications referred to should



surprise some readers, the Editor can only rest upon the certainty that they will find *original* works at all times deserving of attention; for although the Dictionary of Antiquities may prove a valuable epitome of past and present labours Niebuhr's own encomiums are sufficient to justify a warm admiration for Perizonius, D'Orville, or Gronovius.

In conclusion, the editor craves excuse for such mistakes as may occur, trusting that the reception of this little Book may justify his further efforts in this useful, though humble department of Classical Literature.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
*January, 1849.*

ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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BOOK I.

THE hatred entertained by Hannibal 1—2.  
against the Romans was increased by an oath imposed upon him, while yet a child, by his father, who was enraged at the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. In fact, Hamilcar's efforts to strengthen the Carthaginian power in Spain, proved that he meditated a descent upon Italy. At his death his son-in-law Hasdrubal held the power for eight years, chiefly by the favour of the Barcine faction, but was murdered by a barbarian in revenge for the death of his master. With Hasdrubal the Romans had formed an agreement that the Ebro should be the boundary of their respective dominions, and that the Saguntines, who dwelt between, should enjoy their liberty.

Source of the Carthaginian hatred against Rome.

Hasdrubal.

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3-5. <sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding the opposition of Hanno, Hannibal had been sent into Spain to acquire the practical rudiments of a military education. His character and habits speedily secured him the admiration of his general and fellow soldiers. Hence his determination led him to attack the Saguntines immediately, as a provocation to the Romans, but he first reduced Carteia, and the other cities of the Olcades. He then took the cities of Hermandica and Arbacala from the Vaccæi. As he returned thence, some fugitives from the former place had joined the Carpetani, and attacked Hannibal near the Tagus, while oppressed by his baggage. He avoided battle, and forded the river by night, attacking the enemy while crossing the next morning. Although their united forces consisted of 100,000 men, they were routed, and put to flight, and the Carpetani surrendered in a few days.

A. C. 218. Saguntum was now the seat of hostilities, Hannibal taking part with the Turdetani against it. P. Corn. Scipio and Ti. Sempronius Longus were the consuls

<sup>a</sup> Niebuhr, Lectures, vol. i. p. 158, gives the following dates: "Hamilcar went to Spain in 516 U.C. or 517. Hannibal was

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at Rome, and a deputation was sent by the Saguntines to implore help against Hannibal. Before the embassy, denouncing his proceedings, left Rome, news arrived that Saguntum was besieged. And now some thought that both Spain and Africa should be made the seat of war, others Spain only; others recommended that ambassadors should be sent to Saguntum to demand satisfaction, and thence to Carthage, if it should be refused.

Meantime Saguntum<sup>b</sup> was violently attacked, but the attempt to storm it failed, and Hannibal was himself wounded. Blockade was next tried, and the works proceeded with unabated vigour. The city was speedily stripped of its walls, and the contest began to take the form of a pitched battle, and the Carthaginians were at length driven to their camps by the ° *falaricæ* of the enemy. Meantime the Roman ambassadors had arrived, but Hannibal refused them audience. Thence proceeding to Carthage, they found the senate entirely not more than eight years old, and consequently, born in 507 or 508, previous to the time when Hamilcar went to Sicily."

<sup>b</sup> The Saguntines were said to be sprung from Zacynthos, with a mixture of Rutulians from Ardea. They were situated about a mile from the sea.

° Cf. Dict. Antiq. s. v.

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in Hannibal's favour, and the spirited oration of Hanno was of no avail. The formal reply was :

Reply of  
the Car-  
thaginians. " that the Saguntines had begun hostilities, and that the Roman people would act unjustly, were they to prefer the Saguntines to so ancient an ally as the Carthaginians."

Meantime Hannibal renewed his efforts with redoubled vigour, and promised that the city, if taken, should be the booty of the soldiers. The Saguntines had fortified the yet untaken portion of the city, but Hannibal, making use of a moveable tower of great height, cleared the battlements of their defenders, and undermined the walls, which were cemented with mud only. The Saguntines still formed new fortifications, but they were hard pressed by want of necessaries, and the short absence of Hannibal to quell an anticipated insurrection of the Oretani and Carpetani, availed them little, as Maharbal, the son of Himilca, carried on the attack with equal spirit. Alcon, a Saguntine, and Alorcus, a Spaniard, were then

The Sagun-  
tines at-  
tempt to ob-  
tain peace.  
Terms pro-  
posed by  
Alorcus.

sent to solicit peace, the former of whom remained with Hannibal. But Alorcus a soldier of Hannibal's, but a public guest and friend of the Saguntines, was

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the bearer of terms. Their gold and silver was to be surrendered, they were to give satisfaction to the Turdetani, and then leave their city with two changes of clothing. Upon this the Saguntines immediately committed their public and private wealth to the flames; while Hannibal taking advantage of the falling of a tower, entered the city, and massacred all the males above the age of puberty, while the despairing inhabitants cast themselves, their wives, and children into the flames of their burning habitations. The booty taken was great.<sup>d</sup>

Saguntum taken.

The grief of the Romans at the cruel treatment of their faithful allies was only equalled by their dread of so mischievous an enemy, and the consciousness of their own imperfect resources. Spain fell to the care of

16—17.

Feelings of the Romans, and consequent preparations.

<sup>d</sup> I have given the common date of the capture of Saguntum, although Sigonius on lib. xxi. 6, and Niebuhr Lect. T. i. p. 166, place it in the previous year. Livy himself doubts (§. 15.) whether the *commencement* of the siege would have taken place under the consuls mentioned, as both of them fought with Hannibal, the one at Trebia, the other at the Ticinus. Niebuhr, l. c., also proposes to read *Edetani* for *Turditani*, and considers Livy's description of the siege as little else than a romance, preferring the plainer account of Polybius, 3, 17. On the motives for such fidelity to the Romans, see Duker on Flor. 2. 6. 4.

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Scipio, Africa and Sicily to Sempronius. Six legions were decreed, and an arbitrary number of allies, 24,000 foot, 1,800 horse were enrolled, besides 40,000 foot, and 4,400 horse from the allies; 220 quinqueremes, and 20 pinnaces made seaworthy. War was formally decreed, and a supplication held for its good success. Sempronius then set out for Sicily, and (if the other consul should be able to hold out against Hannibal) for Africa, with the greater body of the forces. Scipio had a smaller portion, because L. Manlius the prætor was sent into Gaul with a good reinforcement.

18—20. A deputation of five, under Q. Fabius, was then sent to Carthage to demand “whether it was by the public authority that Saguntum was besieged.” The Carthaginians alleged that it should rather be asked “whether it was justly or unjustly besieged, according to treaty.” They maintained that the Saguntines not being allies of the Romans, were excepted from the inviolability stipulated for by Lutatius. War was then openly declared,\*

\* Livy here defends the Romans from all charge of inconsistency or injustice in respect to their treaty.

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and the ambassadors proceeded to make interest with the cities of Spain. The Bargusii received them favourably, but the Volciani reproached them bitterly with their neglect of the Saguntines, and they met with no further favour in Spain. They next requested the Gauls to hinder the progress of the enemy into Italy, but were received with open ridicule. On their arrival at Marseille, they found that the Gauls were pre-disposed to Hannibal, although their ferocity was so great, that they were of little use as allies, unless well bribed.

Hannibal had retired from Saguntum 21—24. to New Carthage, where he gave his soldiers liberty to return home, on condition of their assembling in the spring. He then went to Gades, where he offered prayers, and made vows to Hercules for success. He secured Spain by an African guard, Africa by a Spanish one, sending 13,350 foot *cetrati*<sup>f</sup> into Africa, together with 1,200 horse, both as a guard to Carthage, and a check upon Africa in general. He also levied 4,000 picked youths, and sent them to Carthage, serving both as hostages and a guard.

Preparations made by Hannibal.

<sup>f</sup> See Lipsii Anal. Rom. Mil. not. ad lib. 3. §. 1. Opp. T. 3. p. 429.



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Spain he committed to his brother Hasdrubal, and guarded it with 11,850 African foot, 300 Ligurians, 500 Balears, 300 Libyphœnician horse, and 1,800 Numidians and Mauri, with 200 horse from the Ilergetes. A fleet was also left to guard the maritime coasts, consisting of fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes. He then led on by the city of Etovissa to the Ebro, where he had a strange dream. The army with which he crossed the Ebro consisted of 90,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, and he sent scouts before him, to explore the way over the Alps, and conciliate the favour of the Gauls. The Ilergetes, Bargusii, Ausetani, and Lacetani yielded to his arms, and he left the confines of Spain and Gaul to the care of Hanno, with 10,000 foot, and 1,000 horse. In passing through the forest of the Pyrenees, 3,000 of the Carpetani deserted through fatigue, and Hannibal pretended that it was by his own desire, sending off 7,000 others, upon whom he had little dependance. He then encamped at Illiberum. Hearing of a suspicious meeting of the Gauls at Ruscino, he seduced the petty kings by gifts into granting him an uninterrupted passage through their territory.

Passes the  
Ebro, and  
Pyrenean  
wood.

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The Boii now revolted, being dissatisfied at the recent colonies of Placentia and Cremona being settled in the Gallic territory, and compelled even the triumvirs,<sup>§</sup> who had come to assign the land, to flee to Mutina. This city was quickly besieged, and their ambassadors, when they went out to treat for peace, were detained by the Gauls contrary to the law of nations. L. Manlius, the prætor, made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve them, being detained in a dangerous wood, and he with difficulty reached Taneto, a village near the Po. The Romans immediately sent C. Atilius to his assistance, with one legion, and 5,000 allies newly levied.

25—30.

Revolt of the Boii, and dangerous situation of the Romans.

P. Cornelius set out with a new legion in sixty ships, and, coasting the Etrurian and Ligurian shores, and the Salyan mountains, came to Marseille, and the nearest port of the Rhone. But finding that Hannibal had already crossed the Pyrenees, and was in the land of the Volcares, he sent on 300 picked horse, with some Massilian and Gallic guides, to reconnoitre.

Preparations and proceedings on both sides.

<sup>§</sup> Certain historical uncertainties, but of little importance, are here mentioned by Livy, §. 25.

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Hannibal had made great interest to obtaining and barks of every kind; but, being hindered from crossing by the enemy on the other side, he sent Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, round the river, and attack the enemy in the rear, while he himself crossed in safety.<sup>h</sup>

First skirmish between the Romans and Numidians.

Meantime Hannibal had sent a Numidian horse to survey the camp, and a skirmish followed, in which the Romans proved victorious, but with some loss. Both generals were now uncertain of their future plans, but Hannibal at length determined to make for Italy, and encouraged his soldiers with the memory of past, and the prospect of future successes.

31. On the following day Hannibal moved towards the river-parts of Gaul, in the view of avoiding the Romans. He arrived at Insula,<sup>i</sup> between the Isar and the Danube, where he settled a dispute among the Allobroges, whose former king Brancus had been expelled from the throne by his younger and more popular brother. His successful arbitration was rewarded by

<sup>h</sup> The methods of conveying the elephants across the river are described, §. 28.

<sup>i</sup> See the commentators.

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beral supply of food and clothing; and he turned his course to the left towards the Tricastini, through the Vocontii to the Tricorii, straight on to the river Druentia, the most dangerous in Gaul, on account of the hidden springs and shallows, and the swell caused by the late showers.

P. Cornelius, finding Hannibal's camp deserted, returned back to the fleet, but sent his brother, Cn. Scipio, with the greatest portion of his troops for the defence of Spain against Hasdrubal. He himself proceeded to Genoa with a few troops, intending to defend Italy with the army stationed round the Po.

Hannibal continued his journey over the Alps, but narrowly escaped severe loss at the hands of the mountaineers, with difficulty rescuing his horses and baggage from the enemy. He was next nearly deceived by a specious profession of friendship, but, keeping the extremities of his march well guarded, he withstood an attack made in a narrow pass, although he was for one night separated from the van of his army. His loss was however greater in beasts than in men. On the ninth day he arrived at the summit of the Alps, and rested two days. The

32—45.

Proceedings  
of Cornelius  
Scipio.Passage  
over the  
Alps.

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army were alarmed at a dreadful fall of snow,<sup>k</sup> but re-encouraged by the sanguine expectations of Hannibal, they began to descend. The difficulty was rendered greater by the fact that the Alps are most steep on the side towards Italy.

He now arrived at a rock so steep, that the soldiers were forced to let themselves down by clinging to the shrubs. A recent fall of earth had broken off the rock to the height<sup>l</sup> of 1,000 feet, and Hannibal was compelled to proceed round, with the greatest difficulty from the yielding of the snow. At length he reached the summit, cleared a space, and pitched his camp.<sup>m</sup> After about four days he descended to the plain, and arrived in Italy five months after he had quitted New Carthage.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Polyb. 3, 54. Τῆς δὲ χιόνος ἤδη περὶ τοὺς ἄκρους ἀθροίζομένης, διὰ τὸ συνάπτειν τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος δύσιν, θεωρῶν τὰ πλήθη δυσθύμως διακείμενα κ.τ.λ. Livy has evidently copied the whole passage.

<sup>l</sup> Livy says, "that the mountain formed a precipice of 1,000 feet, and that the new road was built down that precipice." This is nonsense, as every one must see. Niebuhr, Lect. p. 173.

<sup>m</sup> Here follows the absurd fable of cutting through the rocks with vinegar. Cf. Sil. iii. 640. "Jamque ubi nudarunt silva densissima montis, Aggessere trabes; rapidisque accensus in orbem Excoquitur flammis scopulus."—"I next saw Hannibal, who assured me he had not a single drop of vinegar in his camp." Gulliver's Travels, Laputa.

<sup>n</sup> Niebuhr, p. 170-1, gives the following route of Hannibal's

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Hannibal's army was probably reduced to 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse,<sup>o</sup> and their fatigued state prevented him mingling in the hostilities in which the Taurini and Insubres were engaged. Cornelius had hastened from Pisæ with a fresh army, received from Manlius and Atilius, with a view of attacking Hannibal's troops in their weakened state, but, before he arrived at Piacenza, Hannibal had changed quarters, and had captured a city of the Taurini, and, but for the consul's sudden arrival, he would have made the Gauls near the Po his friends. Both generals felt a pre-conceived admiration for each other, Hannibal admiring the celerity with which Scipio had met him; Scipio, the boldness of Hannibal in crossing the Alps. Scipio was the first to cross the Po, and, having pitched his camps at the Ticinus, he encouraged his soldiers, assuring them that the wasted strength of the enemy promised a certain victory. Hannibal on the other hand, incited his troops by the sight of the mountaineers whom they had

Opinions  
entertained  
by the  
generals.

Orations of  
Scipio and  
Hannibal.

march: "across the Little St. Bernard—Valley of Tarentaise—Vienne—Chambérg." See the whole passage.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. Livy, *xxi.* 46. Polyb. *x.* 3, cited by Niebuhr, p. 175.

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taken prisoners, whom he permitted to fight in couples with his own men. He then called to mind the situation in which they were, excluded from all hope of a safe retreat, unless victorious. He next sent Maharbal with a wing of 500 Numidian horse to ravage the lands of the Roman allies, and to seduce the Gauls to revolt. But the Romans had thrown a bridge across the Ticino, and had crossed into the territory of the Insubres, where Hannibal was encamped. He immediately recalled Maharbal, and, encouraging his troops with the promise of money and land, made ready for battle.

The Romans were delayed by the appearance of some prodigies, but Scipio at length set out with his horse and javelin-men. The horse were in front of both armies, between whom a doubtful skirmish ensued, but the Roman javelin-men had given way, and the sudden appearance of the Numidians in rear of the Romans, threw them into confusion, which was increased by the consul being wounded, who only saved his life by the assistance of his son.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>p</sup> The future Africanus. Some however attribute the credit of saving the consul to a Ligurian slave. Cf. Nieb. p. 175.

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Finding the open fields little suited to their inferior forces, the Romans retired to the Po next night, and, crossing, arrived at Piacenza. The bridge being broken, Hannibal could not cross, and the account of Cælius, that Mago and the horse and Spanish foot swam the river, while Hannibal forded the Po at the former shallows, seems incredible. Livy thinks that a bridge was erected in the course of two days, and that Mago was sent over it with the forementioned troops.<sup>9</sup> While Hannibal was attending to the Gallic embassies, Mago came up with the enemy at Piacenza in one day's journey; a few days after, Hannibal pitched his camp six miles from Piacenza, and the next day shewed battle.

47-8.

The Romans  
retire to  
Piacentia.

Whither  
Mago and  
Hannibal  
follow  
them.

The next night 2,200 Gauls deserted from the Romans, after committing some havoc in the camp. Hannibal made them liberal promises, and sent them to excite discontent against the Romans, in their respective cities. Upon this Scipio removed to Trebia, as presenting more favourable ground, although he was still labouring under the effects of his wound. Hannibal quickly

The Gauls  
desert the  
Romans.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Nieb. p. 176-7.



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followed him, and would have thrown the rear of his army into confusion, had not the Numidians, eager for booty, turned aside to the empty camps of the Romans. While Scipio awaited the arrival of Sempronius, Hannibal corrupted the keeper of Clastidium, and gained possession of the Roman stores there laid up.

Clastidium betrayed to Hannibal. <sup>49.</sup> Meantime Sempronius carried on affairs by sea and land around Sicily and the islands on the Italian coast. Twenty quinqueremes had been sent by the Carthaginians, with 1,000 soldiers to ravage the coast of Italy, nine of which put to at Liparæ, eight at the Island of Vulcan, three were carried out to sea by a storm. Hiero, who was then at Messana, waiting for the consul, sent out twelve ships, which captured the three without resistance. The captives informed them that thirty-five ships were also sent to seduce the Sicilian allies of the Romans, that Libybæum was the leading point of attack, but that the same tempest had probably carried these vessels to the Ægates. Hiero gave notice to the prætor M. Æmilius, to keep a strong guard at Libybæum and ten days' provisions ready cooked were ordered to be sent in. When the Carthaginian fle

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fleet appeared in view, it was night, and they stood out at sea, making preparations for battle. Notwithstanding the skill and arts of the enemy, the Romans were victorious, taking 1,700 prisoners, and seven ships.

Sea-fight off  
Libybæum.

On the arrival of Sempronius at Messina, Hiero went out to meet him with his own fleet regally decorated, and, congratulating him on his safe arrival, advised him to hasten to Lilybæum and both fleets set out together. On their arrival, they found that the fleet of the enemy had been routed.

Sempronius, leaving the coast of Sicily to the care of the prætor, came to the island of Melita, then in possession of the Carthaginians. On his arrival, Hamilcar, the son of Gisco, with nearly 2,000 soldiers, was delivered up, and the town and island surrendered. The captives, except the nobles, were sold. On proceeding to the islands of Vulcan, he found none of the enemy located there, as they had gone out to ravage the Vibonian lands, and threatened the city. Meantime he received orders from the senate to go to the assistance of his colleague, and, leaving his lieutenant Sex. Pomponius with a guard of twenty-five ships at Vibonia, he sent on his army

51.

Further  
proceedings  
of Sempronius.

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to Rimini, and, following them, joined his colleague at the Trebia.<sup>†</sup>

52—56. The Gauls dwelling between the Po and the Trebia preserved a neutrality, doubtless intending to side with the victorious party. This displeased the Carthaginians, and they sent 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse to ravage those lands. The Gauls applied to the Romans for help, and Sempronius, despite the opposition of his colleague, who had little faith in their honesty, sent them his horse-troops with some javelin-men. A doubtful skirmish ensued, terminating, however, in favour of the Romans.

Sempronius was now most urgent to give battle, nor was Hannibal less anxious, as he foresaw that advantage would accrue to him from the illness of Scipio. The Romans accordingly made ready for battle, while Hannibal placed some detachments in ambush in the shrubs which covered the banks of the river, consisting of picked men, under the care of Mago. At dawn he ordered the Numidians to attack the Roman camp, and then ford the river. They did so, and the Ro-

<sup>†</sup> See Niebuhr, p. 177-8. For the whole passage compare Polyb. iii. 71, sqq.

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mans, despite the snow, waded through the river, with the sleet drifting in their faces. Thus they reached the opposite banks, exhausted and benumbed with cold and hunger. Here they encountered formidable resistance from the troops of Hannibal, which were well fed, warmed by large fires, and fresh for fighting. The slingers were placed first, and the light-armed, 8,000 in number, behind them the heavy-armed, and 10,000 horse in the wings, together with the elephants. The Romans had 18,000 men, and 29,000 allies, besides a guard of the Cenomani. The Roman horse gave way before the slingers and elephants, and Mago and the Numidians, appearing from their ambushes, struck terror into the Romans, and, despite the bravery of the Velites, they were compelled to fight their way through the enemy, and retire to Piacenza, many perishing in the river or on the way. Scipio then drew off his part of the army to Cremona.

The terror at Rome was great at the arrival of Sempronius. Having chosen Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius consuls, he returned to his winter quarters. But even these were not safe from the Numidians, Celtiberi, and

Battle of  
the Trebia.

57.

Consternation at  
Rome.

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**Lusitani.** Hannibal made a vain attempt to surprise the Roman magazine near Piacenza, and was repulsed in an equestrian contest, himself being wounded. He then laid siege to Victumviæ, another magazine, and, despite the surrender made by the inhabitants, he ravaged the town with wanton cruelty.

58—9. Hannibal next made a vain attempt to cross the Apennines\* into Etruria, being prevented by a violent storm. On his return to Piacenza, a doubtful battle ensued with Sempronius, and night put an end to it, with an equal loss on both sides. Sempronius retired to Luca, Hannibal to the Ligurian territory. On his way he ensnared the quæstors C. Fulvius and L. Lucretius, with two military tribunes, and five sons of Roman knights, who were all given up to him.

60—1. Meanwhile Cn. Scipio had set out from the mouth of the Rhone, and put to at Emporia. Beginning with the Lacetani, he secured the whole coast as far as the Ebro in favour of the Romans. Beyond the Ebro, Hanno kept guard, and, fearing that all would be alien-

\* But see Niebuhr, p. 179.

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ated from the Carthaginians, he advanced, gave battle, and was defeated by Scipio with considerable loss. Hasdrubal made an effort to reach Scissis, but the town was taken before he arrived. He turned towards the sea, defeated the allies with his horse near Tarraco, and then returned across the Ebro. Scipio, having punished some of the negligent officers, returned to Emporia. Hasdrubal immediately began to ravage the lands, and seduced the Ilergetes from their allegiance. Scipio speedily returned, reduced their chief city, Athanagia, and in a few days compelled them to allegiance, imposing a fine. He then went against the Ausetani, besieged their city, and, having cut off the Lacetani, who were bearing them help, with a tremendous loss, he compelled them to yield in thirty days, their prince Amusitus having fled to Hannibal.<sup>†</sup>

Flaminius, one of the consuls elect, 63.  
 attempted to enter upon the command at Rash con-  
 Rimini,<sup>‡</sup> and, being hindered on pretext duct of  
Flaminius.

<sup>†</sup> Chapter 62. is taken up with a detail of various prodigies, and their expiation.

<sup>‡</sup> This was in consequence of his unpopularity with the Senate, on account of the assignment of the Picene land, and the tribunician law limiting the commercial influence of the

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A. C. 218. U. C. 534.

of the *feriæ*, he set out privately, and the senate in vain attempted to recall him. The ill omens which attended his first magisterial sacrifice, confirmed the superstitious dread already excited by his temerity.

senators, whom he restricted from having ships of more than 300 amphoræ in burthen, and these merely as corn-transport. See Niebuhr, p. 180.

ANALYSIS  
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BOOK II.

HANNIBAL quitted his winter quarters 1—7.  
early in the spring, after being exposed to much danger from the enmity of the Gauls. Meantime Servilius entered on the office of consul, and the rage of the Romans against Flaminius was increased by the impossibility of the other consul, as he set out in a private capacity, taking the auspices with him. Their fear was augmented by the vast number of prodigies which happened, and large offerings were made to the gods to avert the ill omens.

Discontent  
at Rome  
against the  
consul.

Hearing that Flaminius was at Arrezzo, he took the shortest way through the marshes, which were then overflown by the Arno, and, with great loss and hardship, himself being blinded of an eye, he arrived at the fertile

March of  
Hannibal.  
He pro-  
vokes Fla-  
minius.



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Etrurian plains between Fiesolo and Arrezzo. Knowing the impetuous disposition of Flaminius, he provoked him by ravaging the land of the allies in his sight. Despite ill omens, the consul was determined to give battle, and following Hannibal, arrived between Cortona and the Trasimene. But the ground was dangerously occupied, Hannibal having taken position with the African and Spanish cavalry on some hills above the wider part of the road, drawing his light armed troops round the mountains, and placing the cavalry in ambush near the entrance of the defile between the lake and the Crotonian mountains. Flaminius arrived at sunset, and, before it was clear day, found himself surrounded on all sides. A thick fog hindered the Romans from seeing, they were thrown into confusion, driven into the lake, and Flaminius was slain by an Insubrian named Decario. Six thousand of the van-guard bravely forced their way through the enemy, but Maharbal came up with them the next day. Notwithstanding his promise Hannibal took advantage of their surrender, and threw them into chains. Such was the ardour with which both sides had fought, that they never perceived the shock of an earthquake which

Death of  
Flaminius.

A. C. 217. U. C. 535.

took place during the engagement.\* The panic at Rome, when the prætor M. Pomponius gave news of the defeat, was dreadful, and the senate sate in close consultation for several days.

News also arrived that 4,000 horse-  
men, which had been sent by Servilius,  
under the command of C. Centenius, to  
the assistance of his colleague, had been cut off by  
Hannibal in Umbria. In such a state of things,  
the senate determined to elect a dictator,  
but, as the consul was abroad, who could  
alone nominate one, Q. Fab. Maximus was created  
pro-dictator, and M. Minucius Rufus master of the  
horse, who were ordered to fortify and guard the  
city, and to break down the bridges on the rivers.

After ravaging the neighbouring coun-  
try, Hannibal marched as far as Spoletum,  
but failing in reducing it, he turned his  
route towards Picenum, which his sol-  
diers greedily plundered. Having refreshed his  
troops some days, he proceeded to ravage Prætulia  
and Adria, and the lands of the Marsians, Marru-  
cinians, Pelignians, and that part of Apulia round  
Arpi and Luceria.

\* Cf. Niebuhr, T. 1, p. 185.

8.

Further dis-  
asters.Dictator  
chosen.

9—10.

Hannibal at  
Spoletum  
and Pice-  
num.

A. C. 217. U. C. 535.

By the advice of the dictator, the Sibylline books were consulted, and the result was that great religious games<sup>x</sup> were vowed to Jupiter, temples to Ceremonies Erycina and Mars, a supplication and lectisternium, and also a sacred spring,<sup>y</sup> if success attended their arms, and the commonwealth remained secure.

11—18. Ordering two legions to be added to the consular army, Fabius met the troops at Oriculum, and ordered the consul to approach him without lictors. Finding that the Carthaginians had captured the ships which were bearing supplies from Ostia to the army in Spain, he ordered the consul to man the whole fleet with those above thirty-five years of age, and pursue the enemy.

Receiving the consul's army from the lieutenant Fulvius Flaccus, the dictator came to Tibur, thence went back to Præneste, and crossing to the Latin road, marched forward with great caution. Im-

<sup>x</sup> At an expense of 333,333½ asses.

<sup>y</sup> Cf. §. 10, Niebuhr, T. 1. n. 280. I will also refer the reader to Dionys. Hal. 1, p. 13 ; 2, p. 77. ed. Sylb. Festus, s. v. more appositely a passage of Sisenna apud Non. Marc. 12, 18.

“Sabini feruntur vovisse, si res communis melioribus locis constituisset, se ver sacrum facturum.”

A.C. 217. U.C. 535.

mediately he appeared in view near Arpi, the enemy offered battle; but the dictator prudently declined it, and merely sent out detached parties to forage and keep guard. Minucius, who was of a hasty and intemperate spirit, ill brooked this delay, and lost no opportunity of depreciating the character of the dictator in the minds of the soldiers.

The armies meet at Arpi. Prudence of Fabius, and base conduct of Minucius.

Hannibal then proceeded to ravage Beneventum, took Telesia, and attempted to seduce the Campanians from their allegiance by means of three of them whom he had taken at Trasimene, and set at liberty.\* Encouraged by their representations, he commanded his guide to conduct him to Casinum, but the other mistook him, and led him to Casilinum, into the plain of Stella. He crucified the guide, fortified his camp, and sent Maharbal to ravage Falerii, but he could not seduce the Roman allies. While Fabius was marching along the Massic hills, the discontent of the army was increased to a violent ex-

Continual discontent in the Roman army.

\* Hannibal had shewn great kindness to the Italian prisoners, with a view of injuring the Roman interest in Italy. Cf. §. 7, and Niebuhr, p. 186. After the battle of Trasimene, he likewise exchanged the Carthaginian for the Roman armour. Niebh. *ibid.*

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tent by the harangues of Minucius, but the disastrous death of L. Hostilius Mancinius, Disaster of L. H. Mancinius. who was cut off by the Numidians, with whom he had imprudently hazarded battle, when merely sent to gain information, proved how well-founded the caution of the dictator had been. Meantime Fabius had sent to take possession of mount Calicula, and of Casilinum, thus blocking up Hannibal between the rocks of Formiæ, the sands of Linternum, and some stagnant marshes. He however extricated himself from this defile by Hannibal is surrounded, but escapes. "fastening bundles of brushwood to the horns of a great number of oxen, and kindling the wood in the darkness of night,"<sup>a</sup> by which means he put the Romans to flight, and escaped to Allifæ. A contest ensued in the morning near the summit of the mountain, in which the Romans would have easily conquered the light infantry of the enemy, had they not been relieved by a cohort of Spaniards, sent back by Hannibal for the purpose, who were more agile, and easily baffled the others, who were used to fight on plain ground. The Roman loss was the greatest, and Fabius decamped, and took up a strong post above

<sup>a</sup> Neibuhr, T. 1, p. 189.

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**Allifæ.** Hannibal, pretending to march towards Rome through Samnium, marched back to the Pelagian territory, ravaging the country on his way, thence to Geranium in Apulia, which had been abandoned through the falling of part of its walls. The dictator, having pitched a strong camp at Larinum, and given vain cautions to Minucius, was compelled to return to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies.

Proceedings  
of Hannibal.Fabius called  
to Rome.

Meantime, affairs had commenced in Spain both by sea and land, in the summer. Hasdrubal, adding ten ships to his brother's fleet of thirty, gave the command to Hamilca, and set out from New Carthage, marching along the shore, while the fleet sailed on. Cn. Scipio avoided fighting on land, as the enemy had received many auxiliaries, but put to sea from Tarraco with thirty-five ships, and put to within ten miles of the Ebro. He succeeded in surprising the Carthaginians while unprepared for engagement, routed them, captured two ships, and sunk four. Pursuing their advantage, they took twenty-five of the forty ships, becoming masters of the sea along the

19—22.

Affairs in  
Spain.Brilliant  
victory of  
the Romans  
at sea.

A. C. 217. U. C. 535.

whole coast, and sailing to Honosca, they made a descent, and took it by storm. They then proceeded to Carthage, ravaged the country round and set fire to the houses near the very gates. Laden with booty, they went to Longuntica, carried off or destroyed the oakum collected for cordage by Hannibal, and even made an unsuccessful attempt upon Ebusa. They returned to ravaging the towns and were at length met by some ambassadors from the Balearic Isles, suing for peace. More than 120 states were compelled to submit, and give hostages to the Romans. Relying on his land forces, Scipio advanced as far as the pass of Castulo, and Hasdrubal withdrew to Lusitania.

At the instigation of Mandonius and Indibilis, the Spaniards made an irruption into the lands of the Roman allies, but were routed by some light armed troops sent by Scipio. This recalled Hasdrubal from his march towards the ocean. While the Carthaginians lay encamped in Ilercas, the Romans at New Fleet, news arrived that the Celtiberi, who had been the first to form alliance with Scipio, had taken three towns, and defeated Hasdrubal with a loss of 15,000 slain, and 4,000 captured.

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P. Scipio, being continued in the command at the expiration of his consulate, arrived in the harbour of Tarraco, with thirty ships and 8,000 soldiers. He joined his brother, and both The Scipios join command. marched to Saguntum, where all the Spanish hostages had been lodged by Hannibal, which alone prevented the Hispanian states revolting to the Romans. By the stratagem Stratagem of Abelo. of Abelo, the commander Bostar was persuaded to give up these hostages to the Romans, and a general revolt ensued.

Despite the murmurings of his own party, Fabius persisted in the same system of prudent delay, but Hannibal, by 23-24. Stratagem of Hannibal, and honourable conduct of Fabius. sparing the lands of the dictator, endeavoured to injure his credit with the Romans. This farm was honourably sold by Fabius, to acquit the public faith in regard to the ransom of some prisoners from Hannibal.

Hannibal made Geronium, which he had ravaged and burnt, his station, and thence sent out two-thirds of his army to forage, and kept the rest to guard. Minucius, in the dictator's absence, was encamped at Larinum, but he removed Conduct of Minucius. his camp from the mountain to the plain,



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meditating an attack either upon the foragers or the camp guard. Taking advantage of their boldness, Hannibal sent a third part of his troops out to forage, removing the rest to a hill about two miles from Geronium. By night he sent some Numidians to seize a hill overlooking the Roman works, whom the Romans next day dislodged, and encamped there themselves. But a small space was now left between the camps, and the Romans almost filled it with their troops drawn up in order, while their cavalry did great execution among the scattered foragers. Hannibal could not venture a battle, and was compelled to draw back to his former station. According to some authors, a regular battle was fought, in which the Carthaginians were at first repulsed, then the Romans, and the fortune of the day decided by the arrival of Numerius Decimius, a powerful Samnite, sent by the dictator with 3,000 foot, and 500 horse. But, although the losses were nearly equal, the master of the horse sent a high-sounding account of his success to Rome.

25—30. Fabius had to contend with the bitterest opposition at home, and M. Metilius, a plebeian tribune, even proposed to depose

Conduct towards  
Fabius.

A.C. 217. U.C. 535.

him for his delay, modifying his proposition into advice that Minucius should receive equal authority, and Fabius be not sent to the army, until he had chosen a consul in place of C. Flaminius. Having accordingly elected M. Atilius Regulus, the dictator set out. Meantime, the intriguing forwardness of C. Terentius Varro<sup>b</sup> obtained for him the credit of carrying the insolent measure of Metilius.

The pro-dictator vaunted his success over his colleague in high terms, and, dividing the troops, the two generals encamped separately. Minucius was seduced into a contest by Hannibal, who had placed a number of men in ambush in a vale between the camps, and the whole of his troops were thrown into confusion. Fabius relieved them, put the Carthaginians to flight, and received the submission and thanks of Minucius, who laid down the dignity injudiciously awarded him by the Romans, and the admiration even of Hannibal.<sup>c</sup>

*Ill success  
of the pro-  
dictator.*

<sup>b</sup> On his plebeian origin, see §. 26. But Niebuhr, Lect. T. i. p. 190—1, takes a more favourable view of his character than Livy.

<sup>c</sup> In the rhetorical speech put into the mouth of Minucius, Livy has borrowed the sentiment of Hesiod Opp. et D. 293, sqq.

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31—3.

The consul Cn. Servilius Geminus meantime sailed round the coast of Sardinia and Corsica with 120 ships, and receiving hostages from both Islands, proceeded to ravage the Island of Menige, and received from the inhabitants of Cercina ten talents of silver, on condition of his sparing their country. But, on disembarking on the coast of Africa, his troops were allowed to ravage the country at random, and were repulsed with a severe loss, the quæstor Sempr. Blæsus being slain. Hastily re-embarking, the fleet proceeded to Liby-  
*His failure.* bæum, where it was delivered to the prætor Tit. Otacilius, to be conducted home by his lieutenant Publ. Sura.

Both consuls were then summoned home, and received the command of the army from Fabius.<sup>d</sup> They conducted operations with the same caution, as the dictator had reduced Hannibal to great straits. The Neapolitans made a liberal offer of plate to the Romans, which was declined with thanks. A conspiracy of twenty-five slaves was discovered, and the offenders crucified; a Carthaginian spy punished and sent

*Affairs at Rome and in the States.*

<sup>d</sup> On the doubts respecting his dictatorship, see §. 31.

A.C. 217-6. U.C. 585-6.

away; ambassadors sent to demand the person of Demetrius, king of Pharia, from Philip of Macedon, others to expostulate with the Ligurians, who had assisted the enemy, and to watch the Boii and Insubres. They also sent to demand the tribute due from Pineus king of Illyrium.

As the temple, vowed to Concord by L. Manlius two years before, had not been yet commenced, the prætor of the city, M. Æmilius, chose Cn. Pupius and Cæso Quint. Flaminius duumvirs to contract for it. The consuls declining to leave the seat of war, L. Veturius Philo was named dictator, to hold the elections, and Manius Pomponius Matho master of the horse. But in consequence of a flaw in their election, an interregnum took place after fourteen days.

Under the second interrex, P. Corn. A.C. 216.  
Asina, a war-contest took place, as the po- 34-40.  
pulace strove to raise C. Terentius Varro Dissensions  
to the consulship, violently supported by Q. Bæbius at Rome.  
Herennius, a plebeian tribune, who made the most  
seditious attacks upon the patricians. The patri-  
cian candidates vainly opposed, and all they could  
do was to choose Æmilius Paullus, who was of  
the opposite interest, to act with him. Two addi-

A.C. 216. U.C. 536.

tional prætors were also chosen, but all offices were filled, with the one exception of Varro, by men of tried skill and experience. Large additions were made to the army, although the amount is uncertain. Some prodigies led to the Sibylline books being consulted, before the army set out. Ambassadors from Pæstum brought some golden vessels as presents, which were gratefully declined, and Hiero sent a liberal supply of coin, some archers and slingers, and a golden statue of Victory, condoling with them on the loss of Flaminius, and advising that the prætor, to whose lot Sicily should fall, should cross over into Africa, to employ the enemy, and prevent them reinforcing Hannibal. Thanks were offered by the Romans, and the prætor Otacilius was directed to follow the king's advice, should it seem expedient.

Preparations at Rome.

Behaviour of king Hiero.

Military oath.

The consuls set out.

After a legal enforcement of the military oath, which had formerly been voluntary, they set out,<sup>e</sup> the consuls being escorted by their respective supporters. Two

<sup>e</sup> The rash vanity of Varro, and the strictures passed upon his conduct by Fabius, are here detailed, but in a manner rather critical, than historical.

A.C. 216. U.C. 586.

camps were drawn up, the smaller and new one nearest to Hannibal. M. Atilius, one of the preceding consuls, was dismissed on account of his ill health, and the other, Servilius, was entrusted with one Roman legion, and 2,000 of the confederates, stationed in the smaller camp. Hannibal, who was in great straits for provisions, was rejoiced at their arrival, as his Spanish allies had meditated desertion.

A successful skirmish, in which the Carthaginians lost 1,700 men, would have brought both sides to a battle, but for the prudence of Paullus, who dreaded an ambuscade, and stopped the pursuit. Hannibal believed that this success would prove a snare to the presumptuous consul, and the next night quitted his camp, leaving the fires, in order that the Romans might think he wished to keep the consuls to their post, and moved off behind the nearest mountains, intending to fall upon the enemy, while plundering his camp. The scheme at first succeeded, but the ill omens reported to Varro hindered even his precipitancy, and the information of two escaped slaves, who had been captured by the Numidians, proved that Paullus had acted rightly. Han-

41—43.

State of things previous to the battle of Cannæ.

A. C. 216. U. C. 530.

nibal was both disappointed at the failure of his stratagem, and dispirited by the discontent in his own camp. He at length determined to move into Apulia, and, kindling fires as before, he commenced marching. Information of this was given by Statilius, the Lucanian præfect, who had before obtained information, and the blind folly of Varro hurried on the Romans to the fatal ground of Cannæ.<sup>f</sup>

44—52. The consuls drew up in two camps, as  
 Fatal battle at Cannæ. at Geronium, with the Aufidus between themselves and the enemy. Various skirmishes ensued between the watering parties, and Hannibal endeavoured to provoke battle, by attacks on the Numidians. Although the enemy ran up at random, even to the gates of the camp, Paullus declined battle: but the next day, when Varro had the command, he joined the smaller camp on the other side of the river, next to which he drew up the Roman cavalry on the right wing, the left being composed of the confederate cavalry, the infantry stretching to the legions in the centre, and the light armed force forming the van. Varro

<sup>f</sup> Hannibal kept his troops from the wind, which blew the dust into the faces of the enemy.—§. 43. Nieb. p. 193.

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commanded the left wing, Paullus the right, and Geminus Servilius the centre.

At early dawn Hannibal crossed, and posted the Gallic and Spanish cavalry on the left wing, the Numidian on the right, the centre being made up of Africans at the ends, and Gauls and Spaniards in the middle. The African troops resembled those of the Romans, being clad in armour taken at the Trebia and Trasimene. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards were nearly of the same make; but the swords of the former were long and pointless, those of the latter light and sharp. The whole army amounted to 40,000 foot, and 10,000 cavalry; being commanded by Hasdrubal on the left wing, Maharbal on the right, and Hannibal and Mago in the centre.

Battle commenced with the light armed troops, and the left wing of cavalry against the right of the Romans, but want of room compelled them to maintain the contest on foot, and the Romans gave way. The infantry then commenced, and the Romans, driving back a wedge which projected, beat their way through to the centre line, but were hemmed in by the Africans, when fatigued with their first encounter.



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The left wing of the Romans now engaged, but were routed by a treacherous device of 500 Numidians, who, being received under pretence of deserting, attacked them in the rear. Hasdrubal, who had routed the Roman cavalry, joined the Numidians, put the allied cavalry to flight, and then charged the Roman infantry, while engaged with the Africans.<sup>5</sup>

Paullus, notwithstanding a severe wound from a sling, resisted the fight in several places, but his horsemen were at length compelled to dismount, in consequence of the exhausted state of the consul. They were speedily routed, and Æmilius Paullus died on the way, refusing the offer of a horse from the tribune Cn. Lentulus. 7,000 men fled into the smaller camp, 10,000 into the greater, and 2,000 into the village of Cannæ, but the unfortified state of the town exposed them to the cavalry under Carthalo. The other consul reached Venusia, with about seventy horsemen. The loss was 40,000 foot, and 2,700 horse; among which were the quæstors L. Atilius, and L. Fur. Bibacu-

<sup>5</sup> I have, with Crevier, followed Polybius, as Livy's account is self contradictory, and evidently corrupt. See the Notes of Glareanus and J. F. Gronovius.

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lus; twenty-one military tribunes, who had held various ranks; eighty senators or persons qualified for that office. 3,000 foot, and 300 horse were also made prisoners.

The half-armed multitude in the larger of the two camps meditated departing for Canusium, while the enemy were engaged either in sleep, or in feasting in honour of their victory, but the other party hesitated, and the military tribune P. Sempronius Tuditanus advised them to penetrate the enemy, and accordingly 600 escaped with him through the enemy, and proceeded with a larger body to Canusium.

Maharbal wished to prosecute the victory, and boasted that they might feast in the capitol in five days, but their idea was too sanguine for Hannibal, to which perhaps the city alone owed its safety. The next day was spent in surveying the field of battle, plundering the slain, and they then attacked the smaller camp, where the Romans were compelled to capitulate, and the ransom was fixed at 300 denarii for each Roman citizen, 200 for an ally, and 100 for a slave. About 4,000 foot and 100 horse had made their escape through the country to Canusium from the greater camp, and the

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residue surrendered it to the enemy. Hannibal's loss is said to have amounted to 8,000 of his best troops. The Roman fugitives were hospitably entertained by an Apulian lady named Busa.

53. Although four military tribunes were present at Canusium, Publius Scipio, in conjunction with one of them, Appius Claudius, received the command. P. Furius Philus declared that all attempts to retrieve the commonwealth were vain, and many of the young nobility, headed by L. Cæcilius Metellus, intended to put to sea, and desert Italy. The spirited behaviour of Scipio prevented this calamity, and he bound them by oath to defend their lands, and keep faithfully to him in advocating the public weal.

The Venusians received the fugitives and consul with great kindness and liberality, and Scipio and Appius sent word to Varro to desire orders. The army was collected together at Canusium, but the Romans had feared that both armies, with both consuls, were cut off, and their terror was indescribable.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>h</sup> Livy congratulates himself upon the superior damage sustained by Hannibal on two occasions.

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The prætors P. F. Philus and Marcus Pomponius convened the senate to determine how to provide for the safety of the city. Fabius recommended them to reconnoitre the movements of Hannibal, to compel the citizens, and the women in particular, to abstain from the disorderly tumult which prevailed throughout, and to rest their chief hope upon the strength of the city. A letter at length arrived from Varro, announcing the disaster, and the whole city was filled with mourning.<sup>i</sup> Another then came from Otacilius, to the effect that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the dominions of Hiero, that another lay at the Ægates, ready to attack Lilybæum, and that a reinforcement of ships must be sent.

Marcus Claudius, who commanded the fleet at Ostia, was then sent to the forces of Canusium with a letter requesting the immediate presence of the consul. The unchastity of the vestals Opimia and Floronia, and the death of the seducer of the latter under the scourge, were regarded as ill omens, and Q. Fabius Pictor was sent to

Prodigies  
and disas-  
ters.

<sup>i</sup> As the festival of Ceres was omitted, the time of wearing mourning was limited to thirty days, for fear other festivals might thereby be hindered.

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Delphi, while the Sibylline books were consulted at home. Even human sacrifices were resorted to in order to appease the wrath of the gods. M. Claudius Marcellus despatched 1,500 men from Ostia to guard the city, sent the marine legion to Teanum, and leaving the fleet to his colleague, repaired by hasty marches to Canusium. Marcus Junius was named dictator, and Tiberius Sempronius master of the horse, and they enlisted all the youth, some even below seventeen years of age, and formed four legions, and 1,000 horse. Every resource was exhausted to obtain arms and supplies of troops, and 8,000 slaves were bought with the public funds, and enlisted, although they might have ransomed the prisoners at less expense.

Hannibal dismissed the prisoners of the allies without ransom, and permitted the Romans to ransom themselves at the rate of 500 denarii for each horseman, 300 for a foot soldier, and 100 for a slave. They were allowed to choose ten of their number, to go to the senate at Rome, under oath that they would return. Carthalo, a Carthaginian noble, was sent with them to negotiate terms of peace, if opportunity should occur. He was how-

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ever met by a lictor, and ordered to quit the Roman territory before night.

Notwithstanding the piteous entreaties of Marcus Junius, the Romans, instigated by the suggestions of T. Manlius Torquatus, refused to appropriate the public money to the ransoming of the prisoners, and they were accordingly dismissed.<sup>k</sup> The consul was however kindly received by the whole people on his return.<sup>l</sup>

The Romans refuse to ransom their prisoners.

<sup>k</sup> Livy mentions two reports concerning the bad faith by which the deputies from the prisoners evaded a return. See Cicero de Off. III, 32.

<sup>l</sup> The greatness of the disaster at Cannæ induced most of the Roman allies to waver, and the following are said by Livy to have actually revolted; the Atellans, Calatians, Hirpinians, part of the Apulians, the Samnites, excepting the Pentrians, the Bruttians, Lucanians, Surrentinians, besides the Greek inhabitants on the coast, and the Cisalpine Gauls. But these did not all revolt at once, as is shewn by Glareanus, and after him by Niebuhr, p. 196.

# ANALYSIS

OF THE

## SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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### BOOK III.

HAVING sacked the Roman camps, 1—10.  
Hannibal hastened to Arpi, at the invi- Hannibal  
at Arpi and  
Neapolis.  
tation of Staius Trebius, whose ambi-  
tious views respecting Compsa had been thwarted  
by the Mopsian family, whom the Romans favour-  
ed. As the Mopsian party had withdrawn, a  
speedy surrender was made, and Hannibal left  
his booty and baggage here, ordering Mago to take  
one half of his army, and bring over the various  
cities from the Roman interest, while he himself  
proceeded to Neapolis. Having placed half his  
Numidians in ambush, he succeeded in cutting off  
a number of the Neapolitans, but did not attempt  
a siege.

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He next arrived at Capua, where Pacuvius Calavius held the ascendancy through his successful intrigues. Judging the disaster at Thrasymene a fit opportunity for exciting the commons against the senate, he pretended that the lives of the latter were in danger, and persuaded them to remain shut up in the curia, while he harangued the populace without. Having excited the rage of the commons against the senators, the people still found it impossible to substitute new ones, and were gladly reconciled to endure their old masters. By this means the authority of Pacuvius became unlimited, and the senate began to yield their own dignity in order to conciliate the popular favour. Hence a wanton licentiousness and excess speedily prevailed among all classes, and open revolt was only prevented by the consideration of their matrimonial alliances with the Romans, and the 300 Campanian knights who had been placed by the Romans in the different garrisons of Sicily. The relations of these knights prevailed upon the people to send a deputation to the consul at Venusia, who too rashly exposed the real weakness of the Romans, and their lamentable want of resources. On their departure, Vibius Virius,

Intrigues of  
Pacuvius at  
Capua.



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one of the ambassadors, remarked that the Campanians might not only recover the lands of which the Romans had deprived them, but become the future masters of all Italy. Accordingly such a report of the Roman impotency was conveyed to the Campanians, as threw the majority into an immediate revolt,<sup>a</sup> and an alliance was concluded with Hannibal, on condition that no Carthaginian should interfere with their laws or government, and that 300 Roman prisoners should be delivered up to them, whom they might exchange for their own knights in Sicily.<sup>b</sup> Decius Magius alone opposed the revolution, and he was accordingly ordered by Hannibal to be brought before him in chains. Fearing however to irritate the Campanians, he sent a message to Marius Blosius, the prætor, announcing that he would himself come to the city next day, and the whole city appeared to receive him. Instead of the business intended by Hannibal, the whole day was spent in feasting and luxury, at the house of the Minii Celeres. Here

<sup>a</sup> Some say that the Campanians first demanded that one of the Roman consuls should be chosen from among themselves, a proposal which was scornfully rejected. §. b.

<sup>b</sup> The cruel Campanians suffocated such Romans as they found in the public hot baths of the city. Cf. Niebuhr, p. 197.

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Calavius with difficulty obtained a pardon for his son Perolla, who had anxiously favoured the opposition of Decius. He was only restrained by his father's entreaties from assassinating Hannibal while engaged at the banquet. On the next day Decius was demanded by Hannibal, and, despite of his earnest calls upon the Campanian people, was hastily shipped off. The vessel was driven to Cyrene, and king Ptolemy generously afforded shelter to this faithful adherent of the Roman cause.

Meantime Fabius Pictor arrived from Delphi, and instructed the Romans as to the offerings to be made to Apollo for the good of the commonwealth.<sup>c</sup>

11.  
Answer of  
Delphic  
Apollo.

The news of Hannibal's successes,<sup>d</sup> as detailed by Mago on his return from receiving the submission of some revolted cities of the Bruttii, filled the Carthaginians with delight, and Himilco, one of the Barcine faction,

12—13.  
Feelings of  
the Cartha-  
ginians, and  
of Hanno.

<sup>c</sup> On the crown or fillet carried on these occasions, see Brunck and Wunder on Soph. Œd. T. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Hannibal had fought pitched battles with six consular armies, and six several commanders; four being consuls: of whom two were slain, one escaped wounded, and the other with a handful of men. The master of the horse had been also beaten, but the dictator had always avoided an engagement. The Bruttians and Apulians, with part of the Samnites and Luca-

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taunted Hanno with his former timidity. Hanno declared that his fears were as great as ever, asserting that, as the Latine nation and the whole thirty-five tribes remained faithful, they had as many enemies to contend with as ever, especially as the Romans shewed no disposition to sue for peace. But few believed his remarks to be unprejudiced, and a reinforcement was decreed to Hannibal of 4,000 Numidians and forty elephants, besides a supply of money. Troops were also ordered to be levied in Spain, to complete the force both there and in Italy; but this business was by no means promptly executed.

14—16. All preparations were meanwhile made by the Romans against the coming danger; and the dictator, M. Junius Pera, having completed the sacred rites, and obtained permission to mount his horse,<sup>e</sup> in addition to the two city legions levied at the beginning of the year, a body of slaves, and the cohorts collected from

nians, had come over to the Carthaginians, and Capua had surrendered. In confirmation of the news, the golden rings taken from the fingers of the slain knights, were displayed in the porch of the senate-house.

<sup>e</sup> See the elaborate note of Duker, and Nieb. Hist. T. 2. note 854.

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the Gallic and Picenian territories, he enlisted 6,000 criminals and debtors, and was thus enabled to set out with 25,000 men.

Disappointed in his attempts upon Neapolis, Hannibal proceeded to Nola, where he found the popular feeling on his own side, but restrained by the senate. Affairs at Nola. The latter, pretending to favour the views of the populace, hesitated as to the terms, and meantime sent to the Roman prætor, Claud. Marcellus, at Casilinum. Recommending them to restrain the popular party by the same pretext, he proceeded over the Vultur-nus, through Saticula and Trebia into Nola.

Hannibal immediately retired near to Neapolis, wishing to gain a sea-port town comeatable to the ships from Africa. But finding that Neapolis was held by M. Junius Silanus, he proceeded to Nuceria, which he starved into a surrender, vainly attempting to persuade the garrison to enlist on his side. At Nuceria. Most of them went to Nola or Neapolis, but thirty of the senators, being refused admittance at Capua, retired to Cumæ. Nuceria was plundered and burnt.

Lucius Bantius, who had been left half dead at Cannæ, and had been kindly treated by L. Bantius.

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Hannibal, would have proved a dangerous enemy to the Romans, had not Marcellus, by handsome praises and liberal rewards so pleased his vanity, as to render him one of their best adherents.

Further  
affairs at  
Nola.

Hannibal now appeared at the gates of Nola, and the commons were again meditating a revolt. Fearing that the city would be betrayed, Marcellus formed his troops in order of battle under the city walls, the Carthaginians before their own camp, and skirmishes ensued. Finding that the commons intended to admit the Carthaginians, immediately the Romans should be on their march, Marcellus drew up his forces in divisions at the three gates fronting the enemy, the baggage in the rear, while the servants and sutlers carried palisades. On their standing thus within the gates for some days, Hannibal began to think that his plans were discovered, and that the Romans were afraid to move, and made preparations to assault the city. Whilst his men were thus engaged, Marcellus charged them with fury, and Hannibal is said to have lost 2,300 men.

17—18.  
Punishment  
of the traitors.

Hannibal hastened away to Acerræ, and Marcellus, having held an inquiry,

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convicted upwards of seventy persons of treasonable practices, whom he beheaded; then placing the government in the hands of the senate, he moved off, to pitch his camp above Suessula. The Acerrans refused to surrender, and moved off by night, leaving their town to be burnt by Hannibal, who thence proceeded to Casilinum, hearing that the Roman dictator had gone thither. The town was garrisoned by 500 Prænestines, with a few Romans and Latines, brought together by the news of the disaster at Cannæ. They had put to death the obnoxious inhabitants by night, and seized upon the part of the city on this side of the Volturnus. There were also 460 Perusians led thither by a like cause.

After a vain attempt to conciliate the garrison, Hannibal's emissary Isalca, with <sup>Siege of</sup> Casilinum. a body of Gætulians, finding all silent, attempted to break down the gates, but was repulsed by two cohorts with heavy loss. Maharbal met with no better success, and Hannibal brought his whole forces to bear against this small town. He suffered great loss from the missiles sent, and the attacks made by the brave garrison, and mines and countermines were sunk by both sides; and Hannibal

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baffled by the courageous resistance afforded, left a small detachment encamped, and withdrew to Capua.

Here his men gave themselves up to enervating ease and luxury, and Capua hereafter proved the refuge of Hannibal's deserters.

19—20.

The garrison at Casilinum are compelled to surrender.

When the season grew milder, Hannibal returned to Casilinum, now at the extremity of want. The Romans commanded by Gracchus, attempted to supply their necessities by floating corn and nuts down the Volturnus, but they were at length compelled to surrender, and, a ransom of seven ounces of gold being paid for each man, those Prænestines who had escaped the famine retired to Cumæ with their commander Manicius, as his native statue attests. They were rewarded by the Romans with two years' pay, and five years' exemption from service. They however declined the office of citizenship. Hannibal garrisoned Casilinum with 700 men, and restored it to the Campanians.

The Petellians seek aid.

The Petellians made a vain petition to the Romans for succour against Hannibal, the prætor Manius Pomponius confessing their inability to aid their distant allies.

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Their grief was great at receiving this answer, some proposed to abandon the city, others, to join the other Bruttii, and surrender to Hannibal. They however agreed to keep quiet at present, and fortify the city.

Meanwhile letters arrived from T. 21.

Otacilius at Sicily, and A. Corn. Mam- News from Sicily and Sardinia.  
mula at Sardinia, complaining of want of money and corn; but the Romans could render them no assistance. Hiero however supplied Otacilius with money and corn for six months, and the allied states assisted Cornelius liberally. At Rome such was the scarcity, that M. Minucius, a plebeian tribune, carried the election of three mensarii; L. Æmilius Papus, M. Atil. Regulus, and L. Scribonius Libo. Three pontiffs were also elected; Q. Cæcil. Metellus, Q. Fabius Max., and Q. Fulv. Flaccus, in place of Publ. Scantinius, and of L. Æm. Paullus, and Q. Ælius Pætus, who had fallen at Cannæ. The Atilii, Marcus and Caius, dedicated the temple of Concord, vowed by L. Manlius when prætor.

The senate had not been filled up 22—23.  
since the censorship of L. Æmilius and The senate is filled up.  
C. Flaminius, and, as the dictator was



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with the army, a prætor, Manius Pomponius, proposed that it should be completed. Sp. Carvilius wished for the introduction of Latine citizens, which was violently opposed by T. Manlius, and condemned as an impolitic and dangerous proposal by Fabius. Caius Terentius accordingly nominated M. Fabius Buteo dictator for six months, who, although displeased with the irregularity of there being two dictators, and one of them without a master of the horse, elected 177 new members with excellent judgment, rank by rank, and then retired into private life.

24—25.

Next night the consul joined the army, and a letter was sent to the dictator recalled. Prepara-  
tions at  
Rome. requesting his return to hold the elections, if consistent with the public good, together with T. Semp. Gracchus, master of the horse, and the prætor Marcellus. Having liberally praised Gracchus, the dictator chose him consul with L. Postumius, then in Gaul. The prætors were also chosen. The dictator then returned to Teanum, leaving Gracchus to arrange military matters with the senate.

Rome was thrown into consternation by the news that 25,000 men under Postumius had been cut

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off by the Gauls in the wood Litana. Gracchus, finding that the collective forces of the dictator, Marcellus, and Terentius, were inadequate, recommended that the Romans should suspend their resentment against Gaul for the present, and that he should take the dictator's army; that such soldiers in Marcellus' army, as had fled from Cannæ, should be sent to Sicily; that a consul should be elected in place of Postumius, as soon as auspices permitted, to take charge of the two city legions; that two more should be brought home from Sicily, partly for the same object, and that Terentius, with all his present forces should continue the command in Apulia for a year.

Meantime Publ. and Cn. Scipio were <sup>26-29.</sup> both successfully employed in Spain, the <sup>Affairs in Spain under the Scipios.</sup> former having the sea force under his command. Hasdrubal kept aloof, until a reinforcement of 4,000 foot and 500 horse arrived from Africa. He then drew nearer and attempted to fit out a fleet to defend the island and the coast. But he was alarmed by the desertion of his captains, who were exciting the Tartessians to revolt. He therefore turned his arms against Galbus, and various skirmishes took place, but the Tartessians

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failed in enticing Hasdrubal to give battle. They then proceeded to Asena, Hasdrubal's magazine, which they stormed, but, risking a battle, they were defeated. When however these states heard that Hasdrubal was summoned into Italy, their feelings turned towards the Romans.

Hasdrubal immediately despatched a letter to Carthage, representing the danger that would result if he left Spain, unless a substitute were sent.

But the senate deemed Italy of greater importance, and Himilco was sent with a large army and fleet to defend Spain, being instructed by Hasdrubal on meeting. Having imposed a tribute on all the states under his authority, he marched down to the Ebro.

To prevent the junction of two such formidable enemies, the Romans laid siege to Ibera, with the view of diverting Hasdrubal from proceeding to join Hannibal. He however besieged a town subject to the Romans, and thereby drew their attack upon himself. Battle at length ensued,\* and the Romans forced the centre of the enemy, separated their wings, and routed them with great slaughter.

\* On the *desultores* here mentioned, see Dict. Antiq., and Vegetius, I. 18.

Himilco  
takes the  
command  
in Spain.  
Hasdrubal  
returns.

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The Moorish and Numidian cavalry had already fled, and Hasdrubal's camp being taken, he was compelled to escape with a few followers. The minds of the allies were now strengthened in favour of the Romans, and Rome was in a state of universal rejoicing.

Himilco had meantime taken Petelia in Bruttium, after blockading it for several months, and reducing the inhabitants to the greatest straits. Consentia next yielded, then Croton, a reduced Greek city. The Locrians also revolted through the treachery of the nobles.<sup>b</sup> Even Gelo, the eldest son of Hiero, was infected with a revolutionary spirit, but his sudden death, which even cast suspicion upon his father, hindered his attempt.

Revolts and  
defeats among  
the Roman  
allies.

Towards the close of the year, Q. Fabius, at his own request, was appointed duumvir, in order to dedicate the temple he had vowed to Erycina, by Tiberius Sempronius, the consul elect. In honour of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, his three sons celebrated funeral games for three days, exhibiting twenty-two pairs of gladiators. The curule ædiles, C. Lætorius and

Games, &c.  
at Rome.

<sup>b</sup> The Rhegians alone remained faithful.

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T. Sempr., held the Roman games for a like pe as also were the plebeian games.

A. C. 215. Tiberius Sempronius now entered o office, the prætor Q. Fulvius held the jurisdiction, M. Valer. Lævinus the foreign; S fell to the lot of Appius Claudius Pulcher, Sardinia to Q. Mucius Scævola. The succe services of M. Marcellus were rewarded by consular authority.

31—32. With a view of giving immediate  
Prepara-  
 tions at  
 Rome for  
 the war in  
 all parts. to all the troops, excepting those  
 had been at Cannæ, double taxes  
 imposed. The two city legions wer  
 dered to Cale, and thence to the Claudian c  
 above Suessula, under T. Sempronius; tho  
 Cale were to go into Sicily under Ap. Clau  
 Pulcher; those at Sicily to return to Rome. I  
 cus Marcellus being sent to lead off the city leg  
 the people murmured, as they wished him t  
 consul, and the election was postponed till hi  
 turn. He was however compelled by omer  
 abdicate, and Fabius Maximus was a third  
 elected. The temples to Mens and Erycina  
 meanwhile dedicated by Fabius and Otacilius,  
 the 300 Campanian horsemen, who had retu

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after a faithful service in Sicily, were rewarded with the citizenship first of Cumæ, then of Rome.

Fabius received the army of M. Junius, Sempronius the *volones*, and 25,000 allies. M. Valerius had the legions from Sicily, M. Claudius was to guard Nola with the army above Suessula. The prætors set out for Sicily and Sardinia. The consuls ordered all persons qualified to speak in council, to assemble at the Capuan gate, and the prætors held their tribunals in the fish market. Meanwhile Mago, who was about to transport 12,000 foot, 1,500 horse, 20 elephants, and 1,000 talents, into Italy, in sixty ships, was distracted between the accounts of the total defeat of the army in Spain, and the prospects of success in Sardina held out by Hampsicora. Mago was sent into Spain; Hasdrubal the Bald into Sardinia.

Sempronius ordered his army to assemble at Sinuessa. Q. Fabius compelled all persons to carry in their corn before the calends of the June following. Even the prætors of the courts were compelled to serve, and Valerius was sent into Apulia, to take the command from Terentius. Twenty-five ships were given to P. Valerius, to

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defend the coast between Brundisium and Tarentum, and a like number to Q. Fulvius for the coast nearest the city. C. Terentius was to press soldiers about Picenum, and Otacilius was sent to command the fleet in Sicily.

33—34. **Conduct of Philip of Macedon.** Philip of Macedon, who had hitherto remained neutral, now determined to side with Hannibal. His ambassadors fell in with the Romans at Capua, but Xenophanes, with admirable tact, pretended that alliance with the Romans was their object, and, having learnt from Valerius to track the posts of the Romans, came to the camp of Hannibal, with whom he agreed that Philip should ravage the coast of Italy with 200 ships, on condition of receiving assistance from the Carthaginians when the war was over; the booty to be at the disposal of Hannibal. But the ambassadors Gisco, Bostar, and Mago, were descried by the Romans near the temple of Juno Lacinia; chase was given by some Corcyran boats, and notwithstanding the plausibility of Xenophanes, the stratagem was discovered, and the ambassadors were sent to Rome in separate vessels. Meantime, the senate, upon the representations of Aul. Cornelius, sent 5,000 foot and 400 horse to Sardinia, under

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T. Manlius, until the weak health of Q. Mucius should be improved. The Carthaginian fleet, while making for Sardinia, suffered severe damage in a storm, and was driven to the Balearic isles, where much time was lost in its repairs.

The Campanians, failing in this attempt to bring the Cumans to a revolt, attempted to deceive them by inviting their senate to a meeting at Hamæ. The Cumans, without disclosing their perception of the design, sent to T. Sempronius at Liternum,<sup>c</sup> who ordered them to carry in their effects, and keep within their walls, and himself removed to Cumæ the day previous to the one appointed for the public sacrifices and council. At a little distance from Hamæ (which is three miles from Cumæ) Marius Alfius, the Medixtuticus, or chief magistrate, of the Campanians, was in ambush with 14,000 men, but ill guarded against an attack. As the rites began after night-fall, and lasted till midnight, Sempronius assaulted the camp, and put Alfius and above 2,000 men to the sword, taking the camp, and thirty-four standards. He then retreated to Cumæ, fearing Hannibal, who was encamped on the Tifata

<sup>c</sup> On the excellent organization of his army, see §. 35.



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over *Āpua*. Hannibal, mistaking the quality of the army, hastened to *Hamæ*, expecting to fall upon them while plundering the camp. At the persuasion of others, he pitched his camp a mile from *Cumæ*, and laid siege. Gracchus, although he mistrusted his troops, was unwilling to abandon the *Cumans*, and Fabius was unable to cross from *Cales*, through some prodigies.

By erecting towers higher than those of Hannibal, Sempronius, with a sudden sally, made a terrific slaughter among the enemy, and Hannibal, disappointed in his expectation of drawing him out to a pitched battle, retreated to the *Tifata*. At the very same time T. Sempronius Longus routed Hanno at *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, with a loss of 2,000 men, and 41 standards, and drove him back to *Bruttium*. Three *Hirpinian* towns, which had revolted, were retaken by M. Valerius, the leaders of the revolt *Vercellius* and *Sicilius* beheaded, and above 1,000 prisoners sold.

8—30. Meantime the five ships containing the ambassadors to Philip, were descried by Gracchus at *Cumæ*, who sent the letters to Rome by land, leaving the prisoners to go by sea. The Romans immediately got ready

Sempronius  
frustrates  
Hannibal.

Various  
successes of  
the Romans

Gracchus  
communicates with  
Rome.

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twenty-five ships in addition to the twenty under P. Valerius Flaccus and the five which had just arrived. They sailed to Tarentum, where Valerius took on board the soldiers there stationed under L. Apustius, to defend Italy, and seek intelligence of Philip. If the news should prove true, M. Valerius was to proceed to the fleet at Tarentum, cross into Macedonia, in order to restrain Philip. To support the expense of this war, the money was applied, which was to have been returned to Hiero by Appius, and that king also sent a supply of wheat and barley.

Counter  
measures  
of the  
Romans.

By the escape of the captured ship, Philip learnt the failure of his embassy, and dispatched Heraclitus Scotinus, Crito, and Sositheus, who successfully transacted the same business. But the summer had passed before Philip could enter upon any enterprise.

Further  
proceedings  
of Philip;

Having passed the Vulturinus, Fabius took Combulteria, Trebula, and Saticula, which had revolted. The same cabals prevailed at Nola as before, but Fabius, marching to the Claudian camp, sent M. Marcellus, the pro-consul, to secure the possession of this town.

of Fabius.

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40—1. At Sardinia T. Manlius drew his  
 Splendid ships into dock at Carale, and proceeded  
 successes of Manlius. into the country with 22,000 foot, and  
 1,200 horse. Hampsicora had gone to Pelliti to  
 enlist the youths, and his son Hiostus imprudently  
 hazarded a battle with tremendous loss. The fugi-  
 tives retired to Cornus, and the Sardinian war  
 would have ended, but for the arrival of Hasdrubal  
 from the Baleares, who joined Hampsicora, while  
 Manlius had gone back to Carale. His rapacious  
 course through the country was checked by Man-  
 lius, and a pitched battle ensued, the allied forces  
 lost 12,000 men, besides 27 standards, and 3,600  
 prisoners, among whom were Hasdrubal, Hanno,  
 and Mago; Hiostus fell in the fight, and Hamp-  
 sicora put an end to his own life. The rest took  
 refuge at Cornus, which was quickly taken by  
 Manlius, who accepted the allegiance of the other  
 revolted states, imposing contributions upon each  
 according to their power, or the extent of their  
 offence. He then sailed from Carale to Rome,  
 delivered up the money to the quæstors, the corn  
 to the ædiles, and the prisoners to the prætor Q.  
 Fulvius.

Other suc-  
 cesses.

Meantime T. Otacilius, as he was  
 returning from ravaging the Carthagi-

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nian territories to Sardinia, had met Hasdrubal's fleet, and taken seven ships. Appius Claudius attempted to surprise Bomilcar at the harbour of Locri, but found him gone to join Hanno.

The frequent attacks made during the summer upon the Samnites, by Marcellus from Nola, compelled them to crave the assistance of Hannibal, misrepresenting the conduct of Marcellus. Hannibal promised to attack the neighbouring allies, and, leaving a few troops at Tifata, marched to Nola, where he was joined by Hanno. The cautious behaviour of Marcellus, who kept within Nola, disappointed him, and Hanno, inviting Herennius Bassus and Herius Pettius to a conference, endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade them to betray Marcellus and his troops. Hannibal then laid siege, but was repelled by an irruption from the gate, and a violent shower of rain broke up the contest, and kept both sides unemployed for two days. Hannibal then sent part of his forces to ravage the lands, and Marcellus instantly drew out and offered battle. The Nolans joined the Roman forces, but were ordered not to engage unless they received a signal from Marcellus. By abuse of

42—9.

During the summer Marcellus drives the Samnites to seek aid from Hannibal.

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each other's forces, both generals endeavoured to incite their armies to success, but the Carthaginians were completely beaten to their camp, when Marcellus drew his troops back to Nola. The enemy lost 5,000 slain, 600 prisoners, 19 standards, and 6 elephants, the Romans losing but 1,000. The next day was spent in burying the dead, and Marcellus burnt the spoils, in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan. One thousand two hundred and seventy-two Numidian and Spanish horsemen deserted to the Romans, and faithfully served them during the war, being afterwards rewarded with large allotments of land in their respective countries.

Sending Hanno back to Bruttium, Hannibal retired to winter quarters in Apulia, and cantoned his troops near Arpi. Fabius immediately collected corn from Nola and Neapolis, and, securing the camp above Suessula, laid Campania waste, until the people, with but an indifferent force, were compelled to fortify a camp in the open place near the city. A single combat, attended with curious circumstances, took place between Cerrinus Jubellius Taurea, a Campanian horseman, and Claudius Asellus, who was considered victorious.

Defeat of  
Hannibal  
by Marcellus.

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Both sides then kept quiet, and the consul permitted the lands to rest until the corn was grown sufficiently to be fit for forage, when he conveyed it into the camp over Suessula. To avoid expence, he reduced the garrison, at Nola, and sent the rest to Rome.

Tiberius Gracchus, coming from Cumæ to Luceria, despatched Marcus Valerius to Brundisium, ordering him to guard the Sallentine coast, and keep a look out on Philip.

Various affairs at the different seats of war.

At the close of the summer, letters arrived from the Scipios, detailing their successes, but representing the want of pay, (which, however, might be obtained from the Spaniards,) clothing, and provisions. The Romans felt the justice of the demand, but were in difficulty on account of the already great weight of taxation, the poverty of Sicily and Sardinia, and the fears of a war with Macedon. Money failing, credit became their resource, and the prætor Fulvius laid a statement of the public necessity before the commons, entreating their support of the government, and soliciting supplies, to be paid for when money should accrue to the public funds.

Statements made by the Scipios. Measures adopted to meet the exigency.

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Accordingly three companies of nineteen men attended to enter into a contract for supplies. Their demands were for exemption from military service as long as this state business lasted, and that all damage of goods supplied should be at the public loss. Thus supplies were secured, and most punctually furnished.

Further successes of the Romans and consequent extension of their influence in Spain.

Illiturgi, which had revolted to the Romans, was besieged by Hasdrubal, Mago, and Hamilcar son of Bomilcar, but the Scipios relieved the town, defeated the Carthaginians with immense loss, and took their three camps. The Carthaginians marched to Intibili to recruit, but were again routed, and almost every state in Spain joined the victorious party of the Romans. Spain was indeed the leading seat of war during this campaign.

ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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BOOK IV.

ON his return to Bruttium, Hanno 1—3.  
made a vain attempt upon Rhegium, but Surrender  
met with better success against the loose of the  
multitude of the Locrians, who had conveyed their Locrians.  
effects into the city, and the citizens were brought  
to a surrender upon equal terms, having previously  
sent away L. Atilius and the Roman garrison to  
Rhegium. Hamilcar attempted to overtake them,  
but his cavalry were alarmed by the appearance  
of some Roman ships crossing from Messina to  
Rhegium.

The Bruttians, vexed at losing the plunder of  
Rhegium and Locri, laid siege to Croto, first send-  
ing to secure Hannibal's word, that, when re-  
duced, it should be their property. He referred  
them to Hanno, who was on the spot, but gave an



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evasive answer. However, a deserter informed them that Aristomachus had won over the commons to surrender to the Carthaginians, and that those watches where they had guard, would be easily surrendered. Every post was thus carried at the first assault, except the citadel, in which the nobles had taken refuge. Aristomachus, pretending that he had advised surrendering, but not to the Brutians, also fled thither. The city had been reduced since the coming of Pyrrhus, to scarcely half its original extent, and a river ran along the now inhabited half, from which the citadel was considerably distant. Six miles off was the temple of Juno Lacinia, possessing much wealth and a sacred grove. The citadel was well defended by nature, hanging over the sea on one side, and defended on the other by a wall, at a place through which Dionysius had once effected an entrance. Failing

Siege of Croton. in their attempts upon this fortress, the demos and Brutians sought the assistance of Hanno, who entreated them to allow a colony of Brutians to settle among them. This offer was refused by all except Aristomachus, who went over to Hanno, but the inhabitants, at the advice of Hanno, and with the previous permission

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of Hannibal, evacuated the citadel, and the whole body of the people removed to Locri.

A few slight engagements took place Apulia. between the troops of Sempronius at Luceria, and of Hannibal near Arpi.

On the death of Hiero, his grandson 4. Hieronymus, a weak and spoilt youth, Death of Hiero, and its effects. succeeded to the throne of Sicily. An- Hieronymus. dranodorus and Zoippus, his grand- father's sons in law, were his chief guardians, who quickly displaced the remaining fourteen, and, with a man named Thraso, became his only confidants and advisers. The latter alone adhered to the Romans, but Theodotus, who was charged with a plot against the life of the king, made a false accusation, under torture, against Thraso, who suffered with other innocent persons, the real conspirators escaping.

Alliance was quickly formed between Hannibal and Hieronymus, through the medium of two young Carthaginians, of Syracusan extraction, Hippocrates and Epicydes; and the ambassadors sent by Appius Claudius to renew the alliance which had continued during his grandfather's reign, were treated with insult. The intemperate

A. C. 215. U. C. 587.

young king; then sent commissioners to stipulate that, when the Romans should be expelled from Sicily, the Himera, which almost equally divides the island, should be the boundary between the dominions of Carthage and Syracuse, but afterwards, that Sicily should be his own entire property. The Carthaginians despised his unsteadiness, but were content to separate him from the Romans on any terms.

Having sent Hippocrates and Epicydes with 2,000 men against such cities as were held by Roman garrisons, he himself, with his remaining force of 15,000, marched to Leontini. The conspirators, by the stratagem of Dinomenes, attacked the king, and he was slain before assistance could reach him. Some of the conspirators hastened to the forum, others to Syracuse, to counteract the attempts of Andranadorus. Appius Claudius, informing the senate of the unsettled state of feeling in Sicily, drew all his troops to the frontiers of Syracuse.\*

Puteoli was fortified by Fabius, who, without entering the city, proceeded at once to the Field of

\* On the whole career of Hieronymus, see the remarks of Niebuhr, Lect. XII. p. 203.

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

Mars, to hold the elections. The lot of voting first fell to a younger century of the Anien tribe, who nominated T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius Regillus consuls, but Fabius represented the inefficiency of the former, and the exigencies of the times so powerfully, that Q. Fabius and M. Marcellus were continued in office, <sup>b</sup> as also the prætor Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who was to take the guard of the city. The new prætors were T. Otacilius Crassus, Q. Fabius, the consul's son, and P. Corn. Lentulus. Two destructive overflowings of the Tiber had taken place in the previous year.

Fifth year of the war.

A. C. 214.

Elections and preparations at Rome.

The following were the arrangements <sup>10-11.</sup> for the war: Tib. Gracchus was to continue in command at Luceria; Ter. Varro, <sup>Arrangements for the war.</sup> in the Picenian; M. Pomponius, in the Gallic territory; Q. Mucius, as pro-prætor, in Sardinia; M. Valerius, on the coast near Brundisium, against

<sup>b</sup> Livy gives a just idea of the popularity of these two commanders, by remarking that people scarcely thought of precedent. Niebuhr, *ibid.*, observes: "Hannibal is reported to have said that he respected Fabius as his tutor, but Marcellus as his rival; that Fabius prevented his committing any mistake, and that Marcellus gave him exercise for the development of his own powers." Valer. Max. VII. 3, 7. neatly observes of Fabius's conduct; "non dimicare, vincere fuit."

any attempts of Philip; P. Corn. Lentulus, at Sicily; Otacilius with a fleet, against the Carthaginians.

After the expiation of a number of prodigies, six new legions were levied, making up eighteen, of which two were given to each consul, two to Q. Fabius for Apulia, two to Gracchus, one to Terentius, one to Valerius, two for the defence of the city, and a like number for Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia. The fleet was increased to 150 ships, and to meet the rumoured insurrection in Sicily, every person rated above 50,000 asses, was ordered to furnish pay for a seaman for a time proportionate to his circumstances.

12.           These preparations made the Campanians fear that siege would be laid to Capua, and they entreated the immediate assistance of Hannibal. He therefore came back to his former station on the Tifata, left a guard of Numidians and Spaniards, and went to the Avernus, under pretext of offering sacrifices, but really to attack the garrison at Puteoli. On receipt of this news, Fabius hastened back to his army, ordered Gracchus to bring his forces to Beneventum, and his son Fabius to take his place at

Alarm of  
the Campa-  
nians.

A. C. 214. U. C. 588.

Luceria. The prætor P. Cornelius also set out for Sicily with the land force, Otacilius had the fleet.

Five young noblemen of Tarentum, in 13.  
gratitude for his kindness to them after  
the battles at Thrasimene and Cannæ, Attempted  
betrayal of  
Tarentum  
and Nola.  
offered to betray their city to Hannibal.

Leaving their scheme to mature, Hannibal made a vain attempt upon Puteoli, and ravaged the Neapolitan lands. The commons at Nola also attempted to revolt to him, but Marcellus marched suddenly from Cales to Suessula, and, after a slight delay at the Vulturnus, sent 6,000 foot, and 300 horse, to secure the city.

Fabius meanwhile set out to attempt to 14—16.  
recover Casilinum, and was joined at Conduct of  
Gracchus to  
his soldiers.  
Beneventum by Gracchus from Luceria.

The latter, finding that Hanno was encamped at the Calor, about three miles distant, and was ravaging the country, pitched his own camp within a mile of the enemy, and promised his volunteer-slaves their liberty, on condition of bringing home each the head of an enemy. But this proved rather an hindrance to the action, and Gracchus declared that their bravery was sufficiently evident.

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

The fight became doubtful, and Gracchus threatened that, unless the enemy were beaten that day, they should have no hopes of liberty. This renewed their spirits, and the Romans drove their opponents into their camp, where, assisted by the prisoners, they made such a slaughter, that scarce 2,000 men, out of 17,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, escaped. Four thousand soldiers, who fought with less courage than the rest, dreading punishment, withdrew to an eminence at a small distance. But Gracchus, having conferred liberty upon all the soldiers, merely bound these 4,000 by oath, never to eat or drink, while serving him, except standing, unless hindered by sickness. Public banquets awaited the rejoicing army at Beneventum, and, on his return, Gracchus ordered a representation of the festival to be painted in the temple of Liberty, built by his father on the Aventine.

17. Hannibal meantime had marched to Nola, and Fabius, sending for the army which Pomponius had near Suessula, resolved to hazard an engagement. He sent C. Claudius Nero with the main strength of the cavalry in the dead of night, to come behind the enemy, and attack them in the rear when the battle

Fabius  
gives battle.

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

commenced. Although Nero failed of accomplishing this manœuvre, the Romans were successful, and Hannibal quitted Nola on the night of the third day, and went to Tarentum.

As the emptiness of the treasury hindered the censors from contracting for public works, they commenced calling to account those who, after the battle of Cannæ, were said to have meditated abandoning Italy; at the head of whom was L. Cæcilius Metellus, the then quæstor, as well as those who had evaded their oath, by returning privately to Hannibal's camp, after having begun their journey with the other prisoners. All were deprived of their horses, who held them at the public expence, degraded, and disfranchised. The names of all those persons in the younger centuries, who had not served during the last four years, were erased from the list, and the degraded were compelled to serve as foot soldiers, being sent to join the remains of the army of Cannæ, until the enemy should be driven out of Italy.

18.

The censors turn their attention to the moral welfare of Rome.

A generous zeal animated all ranks, private persons contracting freely upon pledge of the public faith, the owners of the freed *volones* refusing their



A.C. 214. U.C. 538.

ransom, and horsemen and centurions their pay, until the war should be at an end. The public funds became so good in credit, that the property of minors and widows was quickly entrusted to them.

19. Casilinum, defended by 2,000 Campanians, and 700 of Hannibal's soldiers, was besieged by Fabius, who, hearing that Statius Metius was arming the populace and the slaves, with a view of attacking the Roman camp while the consul besieged the city, sent to Marcellus at Nola, who, leaving 2,000 men as a guard, joined Fabius with the rest. Meeting with indifferent success, Fabius wished to abandon the siege, but Marcellus prevented this, and the works proceeded with great spirit. The Campanians then obtained permission to retire to Capua, and Marcellus siezing the pass by which they came, the troops rushed in, and the town was taken with great slaughter. The prisoners were sent to Rome.

20. Meanwhile Gracchus had sent out his troops to ravage the country, who were surprised by Hanno, and routed with almost as great a loss as he had himself sustained at Beneventum. Fabius was

Affairs in  
Lucania,  
Samnium,  
Luceria,  
and Tarentum.

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

overrunning Samnium, taking Combulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Melæ, Fulfulæ, Orbitanium, Blandæ, and Æcæ, with a loss of 25,000 taken or slain. Three hundred and seventy deserters were retaken, scourged at Rome, and cast down from the Tarpeian rock. Marcellus was suffering from bad health at Nola. Q. Fabius, the prætor, took Accua, and fortified a camp near Ardonea. Hannibal marched to Tarentum, conducting himself in a quiet and peaceful manner, but Marcus having been sent by the pro-prætor, M. Valerius Livius, had collected the young nobility into a guard for the town, and Hannibal, finding that none of those who had attended him at the Avernus were forthcoming, withdrew in disappointment. On coming to Salapia, he collected corn from Metapontum and Heraclea, and sent out some Moors and Numidians to plunder. But horses formed the chief booty obtained.

Although the Leontine soldiers at <sup>21—30.</sup> first threatened to avenge the death of <sup>Affairs in Sicily.</sup>

Hieronymus, the regaining of liberty and the memory of his vices speedily quieted them, and his corpse was suffered to lie unburied. While the rest of the conspirators remained to secure the

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

army on their side, Theodotus and Sosis rode hastily to Syracuse, wishing to take the king's party by surprise. But the news had already reached them, and Andranodorus was in a state of defence. At evening they rode into the Hexapylum, shewed the bloody garments of the slain king, passed on to Tycha, and called the people to liberty. All was in confusion, but Andranodorus had secured the public granary. At dawn the whole body of the people came into the Achradina, and to the senate house, where Polyænus counselled peaceful measures. Andranodorus was much moved by the deputation of his countrymen, as well as by the fact of their possessing the strongest part of the island, but the ambition of his wife Demarata made him return a doubtful answer. Next day, he went into the forum in the Achradina, laid down the keys of the gates, and made most moderate apologies for having detained them, and ample protestations of his zeal for the preservation of the public peace and safety. He was thus among the first who were chosen prætors, the rest were chiefly taken from the conspirators: two of whom, Sopater and Dinomenes, being then at Leontini, transmitted the king's money to Syracuse.

A. C. 214. U. C. 588.

The wall between the island and the city was demolished, and all measures seemed tending towards liberty. Hippocrates and Epicydes were deserted by the soldiers, and returned to Syracuse; but, fearing to excite suspicion, they requested an escort to conduct them to Hannibal at Locri. This was granted, but delayed, and these youths meantime inflamed the soldiers and plebeians against the senate and nobility, insinuating that they really wished to renew alliance with the Romans, and bring all under subjection. The crowds assembled to hear this seditious language furnished Andranodorus with an opportunity for his plans, but his confidant Themistus, who had married a daughter of Gelon, divulging their plans to an actor of high birth, Ariston, the prætors were informed, and both Themistus and Andranodorus slain as they entered the senate-house. A riot ensued, but Ariston showed that the conspiracy arose from the marriage of Gelon's daughter Harmonia with Themistus, that the African and Spanish auxiliaries had been engaged to massacre the prætors and nobility, and the whole plot was laid open. Sopater, in explaining the state of things to the people, charged the dead

Death of  
Themistus  
and Andra-  
nodorus.

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

conspirators with causing all the cruelties of Hieronymus, and in the excess of their fury they ordered all the royal family to be put to death.

**Murder of the daughters of Gelon.** Demarata and Harmonia were instantly slain, and Heraclea, whose husband Zoippus had voluntarily exiled himself, despite of her entreaties, perished with her daughters. An intended reprieve arrived too late.

**Epicycles and Hippocrates get the ascendant.** This circumstance hastened the election, and to the surprise of all, Epicycles and Hippocrates were chosen. They were vexed, however, to find that a truce of ten days had first been concluded with Appius Claudius, and that ambassadors had then been sent to renew the old alliance. Marcellus, hearing of this, sent ambassadors to treat with the prætors at Syracuse. But, hearing that a Carthaginian fleet had arrived at Pachynum, Epicycles and Hippocrates began to insinuate that Syracuse was to be betrayed to the Romans; and with such success, that the populace ran down to oppose the landing of Appius at the harbour, should he make the attempt.

**Advice of Apollonides** But the temperate advice of Apollonides induced them to renew friendship

A.C. 214. U.C. 538.

with the Romans, avoiding, however, direct hostility against the Carthaginians.

The Leontines having solicited a guard, Hippocrates infringes on the treaty. Hippocrates was ordered to conduct 4,000 deserters and mercenary troops thither, the Syracusans being glad to rid themselves of the worst portion of the populace. But Hippocrates made use of them to ravage the Roman province, and he attacked a detachment sent by Appius to protect the territory of the allies. Marcellus upon this demanded the banishment of Hippocrates and Epicydes from all Sicily, and the latter immediately went to Leontini, where he represented that the Syracusan treaty tended to enslave their subject states to the Romans, and the Leontines, on being ordered to send Hippocrates and Epicydes away, returned a haughty answer, and war was declared, the Syracusans pledging themselves to aid the Romans.

Marcellus and Appius, with their joint forces, quickly captured Leontini, and the two leaders of the revolt escaped to Herbessus. Eight thousand Syracusans, marching to the place, were alarmed at the river Myla by an exaggerated account of the cruelties practised by the victorious

Capture of  
Leontini.

A.C. 214. U.C. 538.

Romans,<sup>e</sup> and the prætors, finding a mutiny likely to arise, led them to Megara, themselves proceeding thence, with a small body of horse, to Herbessus. Among these were 600 Cretans, personally known to Epicydes and Hippocrates, and into their hands the two insurgents threw themselves for protection. The prætors attempted to seize Hippocrates, but the tumult which ensued compelled them to desist, and they ordered the army back to Megara, despatching messengers to Syracuse.

Hippocrates, by feigning a letter from the senate to Marcellus, and by suborning a soldier to carry similar news to Syracuse, excited even the senate against the supposed cruelty of the Romans. The plebeian party even wished to open the gates to the two conspirators. The prætors vainly opposed, and the soldiers entered the Hexapylum, the Achradina was quickly taken, and the prætors put to death. Next day the slaves were invited to freedom, the prisoners released, and by the motley population thus formed Epicydes and Hippocrates were again declared prætors.

<sup>e</sup> In reality, the slaughter had been almost limited to the beheading of 2,000 deserters.

A.C. 214. U.C. 598.

On receipt of this news, the Romans immediately marched to Syracuse,<sup>d</sup> and their ambassadors, who were met by the usurpers, on offering support to their own party, received an insolent reply and defiance, and the siege was forthwith commenced; on land, on the side of the Hexapylum; by sea, on that of the Achradina.<sup>e</sup> But the great skill of Archimedes baffled all the efforts of the besiegers, and the attempt was abandoned in despair.

Taking about one third of the forces, Marcellus recovered Helorus and Herbessus; stormed and destroyed Megara. Himilco meanwhile came from Pachynum to Heraclea, or Minoa, and landed with 25,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 12 elephants, with the view of recovering possession of Sicily. He quickly reduced Heraclea and Agrigentum, and the hopes of the Syracusans

Siege of  
Syracuse.

Marcellus  
recovers  
other cities.

<sup>d</sup> One of their ships was taken on entering the harbour, contrary even to the laws of war.

<sup>e</sup> For descriptions of Syracuse, I must refer my reader to an elaborate note of Salmasius on Florus, II. 6, 34; but more particularly to Cicero in Verr. IV. 52; Plutarch in Marcell. p. 208. On the engines, &c. mentioned, and on the skill and fate of Archimedes, Plutarch, *ibid.* pp. 305-7; Valer. Max. VIII. 7, 7; Cicero in Verr. IV. 58; Polyb. VIII. 5-8; and Niebuhr, Lect. XII. p. 204.



A.C. 214. U.C. 588.

were so much raised, that they divided their troops, retaining one half under Epicydes for the defence of the city, while the other under Hippocrates, prosecuted the war, with Himilco, against the Romans. Accordingly the latter, with 10,000 foot and 500 horse, passed by night through some of the Roman posts, and began to pitch his camp at Acrillæ. Marcellus, returning from a vain attempt to relieve Agrigentum, took them by surprise, and cut off the whole of their infantry, the cavalry escaping with Hippocrates to Acræ. This checked the disposition to revolt, and Marcellus returned to Syracuse. A few days after, Himilco, joined by Hippocrates, encamped at the Anapus, while fifty-five Carthaginian ships, under Bomilcar, put into the harbour at Syracuse, and thirty Roman ones landed the first legion at Panormus, which despite the attempt made by Himilco to cut them off, joined Appius at Pachynum. But Bomilcar, mistrusting the strength of his own fleet, sailed over to Africa; and Himilco, who had vainly attempted to engage with Marcellus before he joined the bulk of his army at Syracuse, marched away, and

Arrival of  
Himilco.

Sicily be-  
comes the  
leading seat  
of war.  
Naval ope-  
rations on  
both sides.

A.C. 214. U.C. 538.

sought to excite revolt among the Roman allies.

Murgantia, a rich magazine of the Romans, was the first to revolt. <sup>Murgantia</sup> Enna,<sup>f</sup> <sup>revolts.</sup> besides being almost impregnable by nature, was faithfully governed by L. Pinarius, who boldly refused to surrender the keys to some leading men who meditated betraying the city. Then, calling the troops together, he represented the danger they were in from the treachery of the people, and arranged for a general massacre of the inhabitants. The next day the passages from the theatres were blocked up with soldiers, who, on repetition of the demand for the keys, rushed upon the people, and a general massacre ensued. Thus was <sup>Enna</sup> Enna preserved, and Marcellus granted <sup>preserved.</sup> the plunder to the soldiers. But this horrid carnage exasperated the minds of the Sicilians, and the Romans began to be unpopular with all. Hippocrates retired to Murgantia; Himilco to Agrigentum; and Marcellus, having stored his camp at Leontini with provisions, went back to carry on the siege at Syracuse. Leaving T.

<sup>f</sup> On Enna, and its mythological associations, see Cicero in Verr. IV. 48-9.

A. C. 214. U. C. 588.

Quintus Crispinus to command the fleet, Appius went to Rome to canvass for the consulship.

<sup>40.</sup>  
War with Philip. News came from Oricum to the prætor M. Valerius at Brundisium, that Philip had first vainly attempted Apollonia with 120 barks, and had then assaulted and taken Oricum. Leaving a lieutenant T. Valerius to take his place, he set sail, and in two days recovered Oricum. He then sent the Apollonians to request assistance, and Valerius sent them 2,000 men under Q. Nævius Crista, who making a sally from the town by night, slaughtered and took nearly 3,000 men, sacked the camp, even taking the war engines, and compelled Philip to make his escape. But his retreat by sea was cut off by Valerius at Oricum, and he returned by foot into Macedonia.

<sup>41-2.</sup>  
Affairs in Spain at Castulo, Illiturgi, and Bigerra. Before the Romans passed the Ebro, Spain was on the point of a revolt, through a victory gained by Mago and Hasdrubal, but was hindered by the arrival of P. Cornelius. The Romans first encamped at the High Fort, but, as their army had suffered some loss on the way, they removed to more friendly quarters, and encamped at the mount of Victory. Hither came Cn. Scipio, and the com-

A. C. 214. U. C. 538.

bined forces of the three Carthaginian generals. P. Scipio, while reconnoitring the country, was nearly cut off by the enemy, had he not seized a neighbouring eminence. Here he was relieved by his brother. Castulo revolted to the Romans. Illiturgi was besieged by the Carthaginians, but Cn. Scipio came to the relief of the garrison, passed through the two camps of the enemy with great slaughter, and, on the next day, made an assault with equal success. The Carthaginians lost above 12,000 slain, and 10,000 captured, and they raised the siege and proceeded to Bigerra, whence they were dislodged by the arrival of Cn. Scipio.

A grand battle next took place at Munda, and the enemy would have lost <sup>At Munda.</sup> their camp, had not Scipio received a wound in the thigh. Thirty-nine elephants were slain on the very ramparts, 12,000 were slain, and 3,000 taken with 57 standards. Pursuing their success, the Romans followed the enemy to Aurinæ, <sup>At Aurinæ.</sup> and Scipio, though carried into the field on a litter, again obtained a decisive victory. A third battle was fought with like success, in which two Gallic chieftains, Mœnicaptus and Civis-

A. C. 213. U. C. 539.

Saguntum marus, were slain. The Romans then recovered and restored turned their attention to Saguntum, dislodged the Carthaginian garrison, and restored the town to the inhabitants. The Turdetani were totally subdued, and sold for slaves.

43—44. At Rome, one of the new plebeian tribunes summoned the censors P. Furius and M. Ætilius to trial,<sup>§</sup> but they were

Trial of the censors, and affairs at Rome.

A. C. 213. supported by the other nine tribunes, and consequently discharged. The death of Furius prevented the closing of the lustrum. The new consuls were Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of the present consul, and T. Sempr. Gracchus. Theatrical representations were held for four successive days, by order of the curule ædiles, one of whom, Tuditanus, had formerly distinguished himself at Cannæ. The consuls elect being called to Rome by Fabius, they were entrusted with the war against Hannibal: Marcus Æmilius, the prætor, was to have the province of Luceria, with the two legions which Fabius had as prætor; P. Sempro-

<sup>§</sup> This was in retaliation for their having brought him to trial when quæstor, on a charge of forming a conspiracy at Cannæ to abandon Italy. He had been consequently degraded.

A. C. 218. U. C. 589.

nus, Ariminum; Cneius Fulvius, Suessula; each with two legions. M. Claudius was continued in the command in Sicily, as far as Hiero's dominions had extended; Lentulus had the old Roman province; Otacilius the fleet; Greece and Macedonia were allotted to M. Valerius; Sardinia to Q. Mucius; Picenum to C. Terentius; each with the same troops as before. Two city legions were also to be levied, and 20,000 allies. After the expiation of various prodigies, Sempronius set out to Lucania, Fabius to Apulia.

Darius Altinius, who had gone over to the Carthaginians after Cannæ, now offered to betray Arpi to Fabius, if properly rewarded. Some were for punishing his treachery, but Fabius deemed this inexpedient, and ordered him to be kept in custody at Cales. On missing him, the inhabitants of Arpi sent news to Hannibal, who confiscated his whole property, and ordered his wife and children to be burnt alive in the camp. Fabius pitched his camp about half a mile from Arpi, and, a heavy rain preventing the noise of their operations being heard, 600 of his soldiers scaled the walls, and broke open the gate to admit the enemy. But the

45—7.

Darius offers to betray Arpi, which is recovered.

A. C. 213. U. C. 539.

Arpians and Romans gradually recognising each other, made common cause against the Carthaginians, as did also a body of 1,000 Spaniards, on condition that the Carthaginian garrison were allowed to depart unhurt, which was granted. The Spaniards were rewarded with double rations, and proved most serviceable soldiers to the commonwealth. One hundred and twelve Campanian knights came to the camp above Suessula, and were received into protection by the prætor Cn. Fulvius, on condition that their lands should be restored, when Capua was recovered. Meanwhile Aternum was taken by Sempr. Tuditanus, the other prætor, and a destructive conflagration took place at Rome.

48—49.

Affairs in  
Africa.  
Syrphax.

Encouraged by their successes, the Scipios turned their attention to Africa itself, and formed an alliance with Syphax, king of part of Numidia, then at war with the Carthaginians. At his request, Q. Statorius, one of the three deputies, was left to instruct the Numidians in the art of fighting on foot, and he speedily made them equal to the Carthaginians in a pitched battle.

Upon hearing this, the Carthaginians immedi-

A.C. 218. U.C. 539.

ately despatched ambassadors to Gala, king of the Masylians, who occupied the other part of Numidia, who, particularly by the emulous spirit of his son Masinissa, was speedily persuaded to enter into a counter-alliance with the Carthaginians, and he soon routed Syphax with a loss of 30,000, and compelled him to take refuge among the Maurusian Numidians, opposite to Gades. Here he was joined by a numerous army of barbarians, but he was hindered from entering Spain by Masinissa. In Spain, the Celtiberian youth were enlisted by the Romans, under the same pay which had been granted by the Carthaginians.



ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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BOOK V.

1. **MEANWHILE** Hannibal had kept a  
Affairs  
about Ta-  
rentum and  
Lucania. look out upon Tarentum, awaiting its  
betrayal, and a few small towns came  
over to him. The Consentians and Thurians re-  
turned to the Roman allegiance, and their example  
would have been followed by others, had not L.  
Pomponius Veientanus, præfect of the allies, been  
taken prisoner in a battle injudiciously risked with  
Hanno. Sempronius reduced some small towns  
in Lucania.

Dangerous  
supersti-  
tions at  
Rome put  
down by  
authority. The protracted length of the war gave  
encouragement to various pretenders to  
the art of soothsaying, and superstition of  
every kind began to hold a dangerous .

A. C. 213. U. C. 539.

influence over the minds of the people. The ædiles and triumviri capitales were at length compelled by the senate to check the progress of private sacrifices and other superstitions, but it required the influence of the prætor, M. Atilius, to remove the mischief, and he accordingly forbade all such private rites, and ordered all books of divination to be brought to him before the calends of April.

This year was remarkable for the deaths of many of the priests. To avoid calling away the consuls from the war, Sempronius named C. Claudius Centho dictator, who chose Q. Fulvius Flaccus master of the horse. He then chose Q. Fulvius and Appius Claudius Pulcher, consuls. P. Corn. Scipio's election to the ædileship was opposed by the plebeian tribunes as being under age, but he threw himself upon the will of the citizens, and was speedily chosen. In conjunction with M. Corn. Cethegus, he then celebrated the Roman games with great magnificence, also granting<sup>a</sup> a *congius* of oil to each street. Several matrons were exiled, on a charge of incontinency. The plebeian games were also celebrated.

<sup>a</sup> See the commentators.

<sup>2.</sup>  
Elections  
and elec-  
tionary  
disputes.

A. C. 212. U. C. 540.

3.—4. The new consuls were ordered to conduct the war against Hannibal with four legions. The prætor Fulvius was to have the legions at Luceria under Æmilius; Cl. Nero those at Picenum under C. Terentius; the former for Apulia, the latter for Suessula; while M. Junius Silanus had Etruria with the two city legions. Gracchus and Tuditanus retained Lucania and Gaul, Lentulus the Roman province in Sicily, Marcellus Syracuse, Otacilius the fleet, M. Valerius Greece, Q. Mucius Scævola Sardinia, the Scipios Spain. Two additional city legions were levied by the consuls, a proceeding which was hindered by the agitation of M. Postumius Pyrgensis, a farmer of the revenue, only equalled by L. Pomponius Veientanus in fraud and avarice. Taking advantage of the insurance vouchsafed by government for all supplies sent, these men had put old vessels to sea, laden with a paltry cargo, sunk them, and then made exaggerated statements of the freight lost. Although the prætor Atilius had discovered the fraud, the senate were unwilling to proceed against its authors, but the plebeian tribunes Spurius and Lucius Carvilius proposed that Postumius should

Arrange-  
ments for  
the war.

A. C. 212.

Fraudulent  
conduct of  
Pyrgensis.

A.C. 212. U.C. 540.

be fined 200,000 asses. One of his colleagues, C. Servilius Casca, was vainly urged to interpose in his defence, the commons were uproarious, and the contractors riotously forced their way into the crowd. Fulvius then advised the tribunes to disperse the commons, the fine was remitted, and a capital charge brought against Postumius for resisting the public authority. He gave bail, but not appearing subsequently, he was placed under interdiction, and all who had been concerned in the riot were prosecuted and punished.

After an obstinate contest against Fulvius and T. Manlius, P. Licinius Crassus obtained the office of chief pontiff, being the first, for the space of 120 years, who had obtained that office without having previously sat in a curule chair, P. Corn. Calussa alone excepted. To forward the enlisting of new soldiers, two sets of triumvirs were appointed, with orders to enlist those capable of bearing arms, even below the age of seventeen.

The senate received a letter from Marcellus, containing a request from the troops serving under Lentulus that the punishment of their behaviour at Cannæ might be

5.  
Crassus  
made  
pontiff.

6--11.  
Petition of  
the troops  
disgraced  
after Cannæ

A. C. 212. U. C. 540.

remitted, and that they might at least be allowed to redeem their credit by facing the enemy. The senate permitted Marcellus to use his own discretion, provided none of them were excused from labour, rewarded for courage, or brought home to Italy, while the enemy remained there.

Affairs at  
Rome.  
Storms,  
prodigies,  
rites.

Five commissioners were elected for repairing the walls and towers of the city, and two sets of triumvirs; one to search for the effects belonging to the temples, and register the offerings; the other to repair the temples of Fortune, Matuta, and Hope. Dreadful storms and prodigies happened this year, and a supplication was held; also solemn worship for nine days.

The revolt  
of Tarentum  
brought on  
by Phileas.

A Tarentine, named Phileas, procured the escape of the Tarentine hostages from Rome, but they were seized at Tarracina, brought back, and cast down from the Tarpeian rock. The cruelty of this punishment exasperated the inhabitants of Tarentum<sup>b</sup> against the Romans,

<sup>b</sup> And of Thurium likewise. See §. 15. Gronovius observes that Metapontum also took up the quarrel. On the stratagem practised, cf. Polyb. VIII. 26.

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and about thirteen of the young nobility, headed by Nico and Philemenus, went out under pretence of hunting, and were led to Hannibal, with whom they made arrangements for betraying their city. This pretext of hunting was kept up for some time, Hannibal feigning himself sick to account for his inactivity. At length, choosing 10,000 light troops, both horse and foot, with about eighty Numidian horsemen as scouts, he pitched his camp about fifteen miles from Tarentum, concealing his design even from his own soldiers. Although the Roman garrison were aware that the eighty horsemen were scouring the country, they merely sent out a party of cavalry to stop them, and Philemenus, passing through the usual gate with the booty of hunting, slew the watchman, and thirty armed men rushed in, opened another gate, admitting more soldiers. On the other side, Nico admitted Hannibal, having first slain the guards. All was speedily in tumult, but Hannibal ordered his soldiers to spare the Tarentines, but slay the Romans. The Roman commander fled to the port, and was carried in a boat to the citadel. The alarm was increased by a Greek purposely blowing a Roman trumpet from

A.C. 212. U.C. 540.

the theatre, so that it was impossible to know by whom the signal was given. At dawn, the bodies of the slain Romans proved how matters stood, the survivors fled into the citadel, and Hannibal ordered the Tarentines to assemble unarmed. He addressed them with much kindness, and ordered them to write their names upon their house-doors, promising to spare all dwellings so marked. As soon as this was done, he sent his troops through the city to plunder the quarters of the Romans, whence they obtained a considerable booty.

Not wishing to be detained by besieging the citadel, which was almost impregnable, Hannibal commenced cutting off its communication with the town. The sallies of the Roman garrison were successfully repressed, and a rampart, ditch, and walls were constructed. Hannibal then went to Galesius, but soon returned, and again attempted the citadel. But a reinforcement from Metapontum infused fresh courage into the Romans, and they destroyed a portion of Hannibal's works. Despairing even of reducing the citadel by blockade, Hannibal persuaded the Tarentines to remove the shipping in waggons across the city, from the

A.C. 212. U.C. 540.

harbour to the sea, so as to cut off the supplies of the enemy.<sup>c</sup>

Having waited till the Latine festival 12.  
on the fifth calend of May was over, the consuls and prætors set out for their provinces.

Among the books of prophecies given Prophecies  
of Marcius.  
up,<sup>d</sup> were those of Marcius, the truth of whose prediction respecting Cannæ procured credit for another, from which the Apollinarian games were instituted.<sup>e</sup>

Meantime Capua was threatened with 13—4.  
Affairs at  
Capua.  
a siege, and the inhabitants, pressed by famine resulting from the impossibility of tilling their land, sent to Hannibal for supplies. Hanno was sent to their relief, and encamping near Beneventum, fixed a day for the Capuans to send for corn. Their negligence excited his severe reproofs, the inhabitants of Beneventum sent word to the consuls, and Fulvius proceeded thither, where finding Hanno gone out to forage, and 2,000 carts

<sup>c</sup> Polyb. VIII. 29. Ταχὺ δὲ πορείων ὑποτρόχων κατασκευασθέντων, ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦργον εἰλήφει συντέλειαν. Cf. Thucyd. III. 18.

<sup>d</sup> See §. 1.

<sup>e</sup> The attention of the reader is directed to Macrob. Sat. I. 17, p. 276-7. ed. Gronov.



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arrived from Capua, attended by a disorderly rabble, he marched to the camp, which would have quickly been taken, but for the height of its situation and fortifications. In the battle, at dawn, the height gave the Carthaginians the advantage, and the consul wished to withdraw to Beneventum. But the soldiers were enraged at this proposal, and Vibius Accuæus, who commanded a Pelignian cohort near one of the gates, threw the standard over the rampart, and, calling upon his men to follow, cleared the rampart. Valerius Flaccus, a tribune of the third legion, used similar language, T. Pedanius followed, the consul joined in encouraging, and upwards of 6,000 of the enemy were slain, and 7,000 taken, together with the Campanians and their waggons. Hanno, hearing of the news at Caminium, fled into Bruttium.

15. On a further request of the Campanians, Hannibal sent 2,000 horse to their assistance. Caius Servilius, a lieutenant, was sent into Etruria by P. Cornelius to purchase corn, with which he loaded several vessels, and arrived at the port of Tarentum, where all immediately became in his favour. But the Metapontines, freed from the Roman guard, (which had

Revolt of  
Metapontum and  
Thurium.

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gone to assist the citadel guard at Tarentum) immediately revolted to Hannibal, as also the Thurians. Atinius, the commander of the garrison at the latter place, was betrayed into a battle with the infantry of Hannibal, and, the Thurians being put to flight by an ambuscade of the cavalry under Mago, his soldiers were thrown into confusion, and, the gates being shut, he escaped with but a few. Having put him on board a ship, they opened the gates to the Carthaginians. Preparatory to an attack upon Capua, the consuls ordered Gracchus to come to the guard of Beneventum.

Although warned by prodigies against secret treachery, Gracchus fell into the snares of a Lucanian, named Flavius, who betrayed him to Mago, and he was cut off, with a few attendants, in Lucania, near the place called the Old Camps, although authors differ in their accounts both of his death and funeral.

In Campania the depredations of the consuls were stopped by the townsmen under Mago, who routed their troops before they could form in order. The Romans became more cautious, and their courage was

16—7.

Gracchus treacherously cut off.

18.

Defeat of the Romans, but their courage is renewed.

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renewed by T. Quintius Crispinus proving the victor against a Campanian, named Badius, who, in despite of former kindnesses received, challenged him to combat, but was forced to leave his horse and arms as tokens of the Roman's victory.

19—21.

Hannibal now joined the Campanians at Capua, and the Romans were at first worsted by a charge from his cavalry, but the appearance of Sempronius's army in the distance, under the quæstor Cn. Cornelius, gave alarm to both parties, each fearing that it was a reinforcement to the other side, and both sides sounded a retreat. To draw Hannibal from Capua, Fulvius marched away towards Cumæ, Appius to Lucania, whither Hannibal, after some hesitation, pursued him.<sup>1</sup> Appius returned by another road to Capua, for the siege of which both consuls made strenuous preparation, forming a magazine at Casilinum, fortifying the mouth of the Volturnus, and garrisoning Puteoli, both fortresses being stocked with corn from Ostia.

Fresh  
disasters.

Two new disasters befell the Romans;

<sup>1</sup>The foolish adventure of Marcus Centenius, a centurion, furnished Hannibal with an opportunity for success, and lost the Romans nearly 8,000 men.

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the *volones* deserted, at the death of Gracchus, and Cn. Fulvius, whose army had degenerated into dissolute and refractory habits, was drawn into a battle by Hannibal near Herdonia, surrounded, and escaped with but 2,000 men out of 18,000.

The senate despatched C. Lætorius and M. Metilius to the consuls, entreating them to restrain the remains of the vanquished army from giving way to despair, and going over to the enemy, as after Cannæ, and that they should search for the deserted *volones*.

22.  
Advice of  
the senate.

Leaving Decius Junius in command at the Vulturinus, and M. Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, with orders to send all corn that should arrive to the camp immediately, joined his colleague at Capua, whither they also sent for Cl. Nero from Suessula, and the three generals proceeded vigorously to besiege and enclose the city. Offers were made to such Campanians as chose to depart before the Ides of March, but rejected with scorn. Hannibal wasted his time at Tarentum and Brundisium and gave no assistance to Capua.

Siege laid  
to Capua.

After some hesitation whether he 23-31.

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Siege of  
Syracuse.  
Attempts by  
treachery.

should not turn his arms against Himilco and Hippocrates at Agrigentum, Marcellus attempted to get Syracuse into his hands by treachery. A slave having pretended to desert, brought some of the disaffected in the city into conference with the deserters in Marcellus' camp, but, just as their plot was ripe for execution, one of the conspirators named Attalus, offended at some matter having been withheld from his knowledge, betrayed them to Epicydes, and they were put to death with torture. But while treating for the ransom of Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, at the Trogilian port, one of the Roman soldiers calculating the stones, found the wall capable of being scaled even by moderate ladders, and communicating the information to Marcellus, advantage was taken of the feast of Diana, and 1,000 men entered the city by night, and penetrated to the Hexapylos, the inhabitants being overpowered with sleep and drunkenness. Here the signal was given, and the attack commenced openly in all parts of the city. Epipolæ was deserted by the guards in dismay; Marcellus entering by a gate of the Hexapylos, was vainly resisted by some of the

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townsmen, and Epicydes, who had led out some troops from Nasos, failed in restoring order, and retreated to the Achradina. So affected was Marcellus by the splendour of the town, that he sent forward some of the Syracusan deserters to try and persuade the fellow citizens to surrender, but, as the Achradina was occupied by deserters, who had nothing to hope from a capitulation, they were refused admittance. He next attempted the Euryalus, but Philodemus, expecting aid from Hippocrates and Himilco, gave evasive answers. Meanwhile Neapolis and Tycha surrendered, and, sparing the lives of the inhabitants, Marcellus gave them up to plunder. Under permission of returning to Epicydes in safety, Philodemus then delivered up the Euryalus. Under cover of a stormy night, Bomilcar sailed out of the harbour with thirty-five ships, and returned from Carthage in a few days with one hundred for the assistance of Epicydes.

Marcellus then invested the Achradina, forming three camps. Hippocrates, having fortified a camp at the great harbour, attacked the old camp of the Romans, but was put to flight by its commander, Crispinus. Nor was Epicydes more suc-

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cessful against the ports of Marcellus. A raging pestilence added to the horrors of the siege, but had less effect upon the Romans than the Carthaginians, all of whom, with their leaders Hippocrates and Himilco, perished, while the Sicilians withdrew, deposited their stores in two small, but well fortified towns, one three, the other five miles distant from Syracuse, and solicited aid.

By specious representations that the Romans might be snared in the very city they had just taken, Bomilcar obtained a fleet of 130 ships of war, and 700 transports, but met with some delay at Pachynum, in consequence of an easterly wind. Here he was joined by Epicydes, who had sailed out in alarm lest Bomilcar should return to Africa. The wind was in favour of the Romans, Marcellus wished to hinder Bomilcar from reaching Syracuse, and immediately the wind changed, and Bomilcar doubling the Cape, he bore down upon him, and the Carthaginian ordering the transports to return to Africa, sailed along Sicily to Tarentum. The disappointed Epicydes then awaited the issue of affairs at Agrigentum.

The Sicilians in the camp now began to treat for capitulation, stipulating that the king's do-

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minions should be yielded to the Romans; the rest, with independence and their own laws, left to the Sicilians. Then, joining with those in the town, they put to death Epicydes's generals, Polyclitus, Philistio, and Epicydes Syndos, and having elected prætors, some of them were deputed to Marcellus, bearing the most friendly propositions, and intreating him to abstain from the destruction of so magnificent a city. The deserters, fearing that they would be delivered up to the Romans, persuaded the mercenaries of the same thing, and the consequent tumult was only appeased by the return of the deputies from Marcellus. They had however slain the prætors, and chosen six præfects, three to command in the Achradina, and three in the island. One of these, a Spaniard named Mericus, was induced by the representations of a Spanish auxiliary sent by Marcellus, to betray the Achradina at the quarter extending from Arethusa<sup>s</sup> to the harbour. A transport full of soldiers was towed to the Achradina, and the men were

<sup>s</sup> Livy seems confused in his account.—See Crevier. On the whole siege, and the behaviour of Marcellus, cf. Plutarch Marcell. p. 307-8; on his Syracusan popularity, *ibid.* 310. The account of Polybius has descended to us in an imperfect state, but the reader may consult with advantage Zonaras, T.



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admitted by Mericus at the fourth watch, and during the first alarm, a body of troops was landed on the island, which was abandoned by the garrison. The deserters also fled, but Marcellus, to restrain the troops from rifling the royal treasures sounded a retreat; the Syracusans opened their gates, and craved their lives and those of their children. The quæstor was then sent to secure the royal treasure, and the city given up to the soldiers, during the sacking of which Archimedes was slain. The booty taken was greater than Carthage would have furnished at the time. A few days before the taking of Syracuse, Otacilius had seized a number of corn transports in the harbour of Utica, ravaged the country, and returned to Lilybæum with 130 vessels filled with corn and booty. The arrival of these supplies at Syracuse prevented a famine.

32—36. Deeming their strength, reinforced by  
 Affairs in 30,000 Celtiberians, equal to the effort,  
 Spain. the Roman generals wished to put an end  
 to the Spanish war, as it had been undertaken

II. p. 84; Jornandes de regn. succ. I, p. 456, in collect. Hist. Romm. minor.; Solinus Polyh. §. XI. An excellent sketch of Syracuse is given in the notes of De Pinedo on Stephanus in v. See also D'Orville's Sicula, p. 342-3.

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solely with a view of detaining Hannibal from entering Italy. P. Cornelius with two-thirds of the army was ordered to go against Mago and Gisgo's son Hasdrubal; Cn. Cornelius, with the rest, against the other Hasdrubal, who was encamped near Amitorgis. But Hasdrubal succeeded in enticing away the Celtiberian auxiliaries from Cneius, who was compelled to join his brother, who was meantime exposed to dangerous harassment from Masinissa. Fearing that this prince would be reinforced by Indibilis with 7,500 Suesetanians, Publius made a dangerous excursion by night, and, the Numidian cavalry and Carthaginian generals suddenly joining Indibilis, he was beaten, and lost his own life in the en-

Death of  
P. Scipio.

gagement.

Cornelius was alarmed to find Hasdrubal joined by his namesake and Mago, and gloomy forebodings filled the minds of all. With the hope of joining his brother, he marched off by night, but was pursued and harassed by the Numidians. He made a vain attempt to form a rampart of the baggage and panniers, but was slain either in the first assault, or in a castle close by, whither he fled, and his army was cut off, with

Further disasters, and death of  
C. Scipio.

A. C. 212. U. C. 540.

the exception of some soldiers who escaped to the camp which Publius had left to the care of T. Fonteius.

37—9. All now seemed lost in Spain, but **Bold attempt of Marcius.** Lucius Marcius, son of Septimus, a young knight, collected, with Fonteius, the scattered remains of the forces, and being chosen their general, animated their despairing spirits to such an extent, that Hasdrubal the son of Gisco met with a vigorous repulse. Then, knowing his incapacity to defend his own camp against the united forces of the enemy, Marcius boldly determined to attack those of the enemy. Cutting off the communication between the two nearest camps, he started at the fourth watch, entered one camp, the soldiers of which, attempting to escape to the next, were cut off by a Roman cohort and some cavalry placed in ambush. The other camp was even more dangerously exposed, but a conflict ensued. The bloody shields of the Romans declared their previous victory, and the second camp was abandoned in despair.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> On some numerical discrepancies in the accounts of Claudius, Val. Antias, and Piso, see §. 39. Such statements are generally either incorrect or exaggerated, and we may

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The spoils of Sicily introduced a taste for the fine arts at Rome, but Livy doubts whether to that taste much subsequent rapine and plunder of places both sacred and profane may not be attributed. Various terms were made with the conquered states, but the Romans had formidable enemies in Epicydes and Hanno, joined by a Libyphœnician named Mutines, who, with the auxiliary Numidians dared to encamp on the Himera, and beat the Romans when marching against him. He then set out to quell an insurrection of the Numidians, some of whom had retired to Heraclea of Minos, offending his confederates by a request that they would not hazard battle in his absence. Displeased at this, they did so, and were deserted by their own Numidian horse, who stood neutral, and speedily defeated. Marcellus returned in triumph to Syracuse.

40—1.

Matters referring to Sicily.

At a request from the senate Claudius returned to Rome, and elected Cn. Fulvius Centumalus and P. Sulpicius Galba consuls, the present ones being retained in command for the ensuing year.

better esteem the magnitude of this victory from the quiet by which it was succeeded.

ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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BOOK VI.

1—9. **THE** reduction of Capua being entrusted to the preceding consuls Q. Fulvius and Appius, Marcellus was ordered to continue, as proconsul, in Sicily, and C. Sulpicius in the same province with the degraded soldiers who had been beaten under Cn. Fulvius in Apulia. Otacilius and M. Valerius had a fleet for the defence of Greece and Sicily.

**L. Marcius** L. Marcius gave offence by assuming the name of pro-prætor without the consent of the senate. The question was however deferred, and the supplies demanded were sent. They then consulted as to who should be sent to command the army in Spain, lately under Cn. Scipio, but their thoughts were distracted by

Arrange-  
ments for  
the war.

L. Marcius  
offends by  
assumption  
of title.

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the prosecution of Cn. Fulvius, by C. Sempronius Blæsus, which, by the statements of the witnesses, even became a capital question. Failing in obtaining the support of his brother Quintus, Cneius withdrew to exile at Tarquinii, which was legally confirmed by the commons.

The siege of Capua was pursued with 4—8.  
 great vigour, but the Campanians, having Capua  
besieged,  
 succeeded in sending a Numidian to Hannibal, resolved to hold out, and worsted the Romans by onslaughts of their own cavalry. At the suggestion of a centurion named Q. Navius, the *velites*, or light infantry, were introduced, and, by their skill both on foot and horse, proved successful against the enemy. Hannibal, after some relieved by  
Hannibal.  
 hesitation caused by his desire to capture Tarentum, marched from Bruttium with his light troops, followed by thirty-three elephants. Halting in a valley behind Tifata, he took the fort of Galatia, and then attacked the Roman camp, while the Campanians sallied out on the other side. Dividing their forces, Appius opposed the latter, while Fulvius resisted Hannibal. C. Nero with the horse of the sixth legion, took post on the road to Suessula, and C. Fulv. Flaccus opposite the

A. C. 211. U. C. 541.

Vulturnus. The din was increased by the sounding of brazen instruments from the walls. The sixth legion gave way, and a cohort of Spaniards were fast penetrating the ranks, when Q. Navius, exhorted by Fulvius, rushed upon them, and threatened to throw the standard among the enemy, if his soldiers did not follow him. Meanwhile M. Atilius did the same, and L. Porcius and T. Popilius defended their trenches, fighting on the dead bodies of the elephants, slain in attempting to pass. The Romans had repulsed the Campanians to the gate, but were hindered from forcing their entrance by the *ballistæ* and *scorpiones*, as well as by their general, Appius, being wounded. Finding that the Spanish cohort was cut off, Hannibal retired, and Flaccus stopped the pursuit.\*

Hannibal having apprised the Capuans of his intention by means of a Numidian, resolved to march to Rome, and seized the vessels on the Vulturnus, which he crossed before morning. But Fulvius had discovered this step from some deserter, and informed

Hannibal  
resolves  
to attack  
Rome.

\* Livy here observes some discrepancies in the accounts of this battle, also the story of Lesius obtaining the supreme magistracy, in fulfilment of a prophecy.

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the senate. P. Corn. Asina advised that Capua should be given up, and all the troops called in for the defence of the city, Fabius ridiculed the idea, and asserted that Hannibal's object was merely to raise the siege of Capua. P. Valerius Flaccus recommended a middle course, and accordingly Q. Fulvius left Capua with 15,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, despatching couriers to secure supplies at Setia, Cora, and Lanuvium.

Hannibal proceeded by Cales, Suessa, <sup>9.</sup> Allifæ, Casinum, Interamna, Aquinum, ravaging the country. At Liris he found the bridge broken down, and Fulvius was impeded at the Volturnus by Hannibal having burnt the ships. He however arrived, and was ordered to take full magisterial authority, which he could not otherwise have done within the walls. Hannibal continued his route to Tusculum, where, being refused admittance, he turned off to Gabii, and pitched his camp in the land of the Pupinian tribe, eight miles from Rome.

The consuls encamped before the <sup>10-11.</sup> Colline and Esquiline gates, C. Calpurnius, the city prætor, commanded in the citadel, while the senate kept in full assembly. Hannibal moved forward to the Anio, three miles

Affairs at  
and near  
Rome.



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from the city, and rode with 2,000 horse as far as the temple of Hercules, viewing the fortifications. Flaccus sent out some cavalry against them, and ordered 1,200 Numidian deserters to march through the city to the Esquilæ, which caused an alarm in the city, the people fearing that the Aventine was taken.

The next day both sides were drawn up by the Anio, but battle was prevented by a violent hail storm, and the same event happened next day. Hannibal was likewise discouraged by the news that a reinforcement had just been sent out to Spain, and that the ground on which the camp stood had been sold, although held by himself in right of conquest. He therefore moved off to the Tutia, six miles from the city, thence to the grove of Feronia, where he pillaged the temple.<sup>b</sup>

12—6. Hannibal hastened into Bruttium, and  
Affairs at  
Capua. nearly took the city of Rhegium. At Capua things proceeded briskly, and on the arrival of Flaccus, Bostar and Hanno wrote to Hannibal, accusing him of surrendering Capua in bitter terms, but the deserters, who bore the letter, were discovered by a Campanian woman, scourged

<sup>b</sup> Cœlius gives a different account of Hannibal's route. § 2.

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and driven back to Capua with their hands cut off. This sight so terrified the Campanians, that they compelled the reluctant magistracy to attend in council, where, when the rest proposed sending ambassadors to the Romans, Vibius Virius dissuaded them, and proposed to drown their senses in drink, and take poison. About twenty-seven senators followed him, and died a lingering death. The rest surrendered, and the Roman army marched in, secured the garrison, and sent the senators to the camp, twenty-eight of whom, who had been most instrumental to revolt, were sent to Teanum, twenty-five to Cales.

The consuls disagreeing respecting the fate of the prisoners, Fulvius advocating the severest measures. While Appius went to Rome to consult the senate, Fulvius proceeded by night to Teanum, and beheaded all the members of the senate there in custody. Thence he went to Cales, and refusing to read the letter sent from Rome (as he suspected it was in favour of the prisoners,) executed them in like manner. Taurea Jubellius perished by his own hand.<sup>c</sup> He then received

<sup>c</sup> But this fact is doubtful, §. 16. On the horrors of the siege of Capua cf. Niebuhr, Lect. XIII, p. 205.

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submission of Atella and Calatia, and put a speedy end to the whole constitution of Capua, the citizen being sold, and no magistracy or government allowed.

17. Nero, with 12,000 foot and 1,100 horse, Romans and Latines, set out from Puteoli for Spain. At Tarraco he disembarked, and with his force, augmented by the marines, enclosed Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, in the valley called Black Stones, between Illiturgi and Metissa. Hasdrubal offered to evacuate Spain, but, deceiving the Roman commander by various delays in making terms, drew off the whole of his army, and being pursued avoided an engagement.

18. The state of affairs in Spain made the Romans determine to elect a pro-consul for that province, but candidates were backward in offering themselves. At length P. Corn. Scipio, despite his youth and the death of his father and uncle, was chosen, and speedily inspired them with confidence by his magnanimity of conduct. With the pro-prætor M. Junius Silanus, and an additional force of 10,000 foot, and 1,000 horse, he set sail from

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Ostia in thirty quinqueremes, and disembarked at Emporium, a Phocæan settlement. Ordering the ships to follow, he proceeded by land to Tarraco, where he held a convention of the allies, then, proceeding to the winter quarters, he commended the zeal of the soldiers, treating Marcius with particular distinction. The enemy seemed inspired with as much respect for him as the Romans.

Hasdrubal, Gisgo's son, was in winter quarters at Gades, the other Hasdrubal near Saguntum; Mago, near the pass of Castulo. A Carthaginian fleet sent to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison at Tarentum, proved a source of scarcity to the town it was sent to relieve.

Marcellus on his return was received 21.  
by the senate in the temple of Bellona, Marcellus  
returns and  
is honour-  
ed with an  
ovation.  
where he failed in obtaining a triumph, but was honoured with an ovation, in which Sosis and Mericus, who had been instrumental to the betrayal of Syracuse, walked in triumph. Both these, and Belligenes, who had persuaded Mericus to desert the Carthaginians, received large grants of land.

Meantime 8,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, were

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landed by a Carthaginian fleet, and provoked the revolt of Murgantia, Hybla, and other smaller cities, while, headed by Mutines, they desolated the Roman territory. Notwithstanding the discontent of his own army, the prætor M. Cornelius succeeded in reducing the revolted states, and Murgantia was allotted to Mericus and his fellow deserters.

22—3. On casting lots for provinces, Macedonia fell to Sulpicius, and Fulvius Manlius refuses the consulship. being called to Rome to hold the assembly, the younger Veturian century named T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Otacilius consuls. But Manlius persisting in refusing office on account of his weak eye-sight, they consulted with the elder century, and M. Claudius Marcellus and M. Valerius, then both absent, were elected. Just as the elections were ended, Otacilius died in Sicily. Many prodigies likewise rendered this year remarkable.

24—5. M. Valerius Lævinus now came to a council with the Ætolians, and, by the promises and assertions of Scopas and Dorimachus, particularly by the hope of their recovering Acarnania, brought them to a treaty,

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in which, if it seemed fit to them, the Eleans and Lacedæmonians were to be included, as also Attalus, king of Pergamus; Pleuratus, of Thrace; and Scerdilædus of Illyria.

Accordingly the Ætolians immediately commenced an attack against Philip, while Lævinus reduced Zacynthus, took Æniadæ and Nasus, and put them into the hands of the Ætolians, and then retired to Corcyra.

News of this defection reached Philip at Pella, who forthwith proceeded against Oricum and Apollonia, ravaged the frontiers of Illyricum, hastened through Pelagonia, Lynceus, and Bottiæa to Thessaly, hoping to obtain the support of these states against the Ætolians. Leaving Perseus to guard the pass of Thessaly against them, he went into Macedonia, Thrace and Mædica, whose capital, Jamphorina, he besieged, in retaliation for the incursions made into Macedonia during his absence on business of war. But his attention was diverted from hence by the demands for assistance made by the Acarnanians, who were desperately bent upon resisting Scopas. Hearing, however, at Dios that the Ætolians had quitted Acarnania, he returned back to Pella.

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26—7. Lævinus set sail from Corcyra, and, doubling Leucate, came to Naupactum, and three days after commenced the siege of Anticyra, which soon yielded to the engines of the fleet, and was given up to the Ætolians. Here Lævinus received a letter, announcing that he had been created consul, but sickness delayed his return to Rome.

A. C. 210. Marcellus, at a public meeting held on entering upon his consulship, boldly challenged the Sicilians, who had aspersed his character, to prove their assertions, and delayed all business till the return of the other consul. Much inactivity and discontent succeeded, particularly on account of the length of the war. A slave named Mannus discovered the Campanian incendiaries, who had set fire to various buildings in Rome, and the Calavii and some other noblemen were executed, he being set free, with a reward of 20,000 asses.

At Capua, Lævinus was implored not to suffer their whole race to be extirpated by Q. Flaccus. He replied that they could not with safety be trusted beyond their own walls, but, having bound them by an oath to return in five days, he al-

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lowed them to come to Rome, as also the Sicilians and Ætolians, as accusers of two illustrious commanders

After Lævinus had detailed his successes against Philip, and a reduction of forces was agreed upon, the consuls cast lots, and Italy fell to Lævinus, Sicily, with the fleet, to Marcellus, against which the Sicilians so earnestly pleaded, that, although he persuaded the senate not to publicly alter the lots, he was compelled to exchange with his colleague, and thus fell fatally within the reach of Hannibal. The Sicilians then charged Marcellus with cruelty, with a refusal to accept their surrender of Syracuse, and demanded the restoration of their property and estates. Marcellus boldly answered them, and left the senate to determine their verdict in his absence, who were inclined to the opinion of T. Manlius, that the city ought to have been taken by treaty, rather than by storm. They however declared all the measures of Marcellus valid, but promised to do their best for Syracuse.

The Campanians had a worse cause to plead, and could only allege the severity of their present punishment. The

28—32.

Effect of the elections upon the Syracusans. Their conduct.

33—4.

Determination respecting the Campanians.



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senate were unwilling to recall Fulvius, especially as M. Atilius, and Caius, Fulvius' brother, and other witnesses were present. The former advised them to refer it to the people, as in the case of the Satricans, and they professed themselves willing to abide by the decree of the senate. Oppia and Cluvia, who had alone deserved well of the Romans, were restored to liberty and honour, but the utmost severity was put in force against the rest.

35—6. Discontent next arose from a decree that private persons should be charged with the support and pay of rowers for thirty days, in proportion to their fortunes, but Lævinus, by persuading the senate to set the example, obtained a liberal supply from all ranks.<sup>d</sup>

Finding that his non-defence of Capua had alienated the feelings of many states, Hannibal determined to plunder such as he could not retain.

38. Despite the opposition and artful evasion of Dasius, Blasius succeeded in betraying Salapia to the Roman consul,

<sup>d</sup> §. 37 details the feelings, doubts, and fears entertained by the Romans and Carthaginians.

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although the garrison of 500 Numidians sold their lives dearly.

Decius Quintius, who had risen by his merits and activity, was sailing to relieve the garrison at Tarentum with twenty ships laden with provisions, when he was met at Sacriportus, about fifteen miles from Tarentum, by Democrates, and, after an obstinate fight, beaten. On land, however, the Romans were successful, Lirius having made a successful onslaught upon the enemy while foraging.

The consul Lævinus made a late, but welcome, arrival in Sicily, and, having arranged matters at Syracuse, he marched to Agrigentum, where Mutines, enraged at the jealousy of Hanno, betrayed the city, and Hanno and Epicycles betook themselves to flight. A general revolution in favour of the Romans followed, twenty towns were betrayed, six taken by storm, and forty voluntarily surrendered. Having compelled the Sicilians to take to agriculture, the consul removed a band of 4,000 vagabonds from Agathyrna to Rhegium, in order that they might be usefully employed in ravaging the territories of Bruttium.

39.  
Tarentum.40.  
Prosperous  
conduct  
of the  
Sicilian  
affairs.

A. C. 210. U. C. 542.

41—42.

P. Scipio  
in Spain  
besieges  
New Car-  
thage.

Scipio summoned the allies to Tarraco at the beginning of spring, and made the Ebro the rendezvous of both troops and fleet. Here he addressed the soldiers with a most encouraging oration, and, leaving Silanus with 3,000 foot, and 300 horse, he marched the rest over the Ebro, amounting to 25,000 foot, and 2,500 horse. Although advised to attack the separate armies of the enemy he feared such a step might make them unite, and therefore seven days after laid siege by sea and land to New Carthage, which was the key to Africa, and a great magazine for the enemy, as well as containing the hostages of all Spain, with the prospect of which advantages, Scipio encouraged his men. Mago drew up 2,000 townsmen opposite the Roman camp, garrisoned the citadel with 500 soldiers, a like number being placed on the high part of the city eastward, the rest being ordered to watch their opportunity. He then made an assault, and the Romans drew back towards their camp, so that their continual reinforcements quickly made the enemy give way. Perceiving a like confusion in the city, Scipio ordered the scaling ladders to be planted, himself

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standing by to encourage his men. The ships also made an attack upon the seaward part of the town, but the bustle prevented their acting efficiently. The height of the walls presented fearful difficulties, and the men were seized with giddiness, and fell from the ladders. Scipio sounded a retreat, and immediately supplied their place with fresh hands. But the sea ebbing, and finding from some Tarraconian fishermen that the walls might then be approached, he led 500 men through the swamp, speedily scaled the walls, which were undefended, and fell upon the enemy while defending the gate. They speedily gave way, and, the gate being destroyed, the troops marched in, in order. The enemy retired, some to the hill eastward, which was immediately taken, others, with Mago, to the citadel, which was surrendered to Scipio after a short resistance. Ten thousand prisoners were taken, of which the free citizens were restored to their city, 2,000 artisans made the public property of Rome, with hope of regaining freedom by good conduct, and others made rowers in the fleet. Much kindness was shown to the rest of the prisoners, and the booty taken was immense.

Scipio next exhibited his generous conduct and judgment in awarding mural crowns to Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, a marine. Both having laid claim to the honour of having first scaled the walls, a serious dispute had arisen among their respective comrades, only settled by the honourable conduct of their commanders, M. Sempronius and C. Lælius.<sup>d</sup> Scipio's behaviour was equally conspicuous in respect to the daughters of Indibilis, and the betrothed bride of Allucius, who became a faithful adherent.

Sending Lælius with Mago and fifteen senators of Old Carthage to announce his victory at Rome, Scipio employed the time in reviewing his troops, both land and naval; and having completed all his arrangements, he set out for Tarraco, where he was met by a general convention of Spanish states. The Carthaginian generals vainly attempted to conceal the serious loss they had sustained in New Carthage.

<sup>d</sup> §. 49 is chiefly occupied by statistic doubts as to the amount of the plunder, number of hostages, &c.

ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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BOOK VII.

SALAPIA was betrayed to Marcellus, who then stormed Maronea and Meles, and took 3,000 prisoners, and a great quantity of booty and corn. But Fulvius, while encamped before Herdonea, which he wished to recover, was surprised by Hannibal, and perished with a great loss. Hannibal, finding the Herdoneans disposed in favour of the Romans, removed them to Metapontum and Thurium, and destroyed their city. Marcellus bade the senate not be dispirited, passed into Lucania, and offered battle at Numistro, which was broken up by the approach of night. Hannibal departed towards Apulia, and was overtaken at Venusia by Marcellus, where a few slight skirmishes took place, the Romans generally gaining the advantage.

1—2.

Success in  
Italy.  
Disaster  
near Herdonea.

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3. Some Campanians had conspired to burn the huts of the Roman soldiers *outside* their town, but were discovered to Flaccus by some slaves belonging to the *Blosii*, tortured, and put to death. Upon their complaint of want of a dwelling place, the *Acerrans* were permitted to rebuild their city, the *Nucerians* to remove to *Atella*, whose inhabitants were sent to *Calatia*. A reinforcement of men and provisions was also sent to the garrison at *Tarentum*.

4-6. As *Marcellus* stated that he could not return to *Rome* without danger, *Valerius* was recalled from *Sicily*,<sup>a</sup> who leaving *M. Valerius Messala* with half the ships to plunder the country, and look out upon the *Carthaginians*, arrived at *Rome*, where he detailed his services, and introduced *Mutines* and others who had deserved well of the Romans, the former being made a citizen. *Messala* was meanwhile very successful in obtaining booty in *Utica*, and, on examining the prisoners at *Lilybæum*, he discovered that *Massinissa* was organizing forces for the re-

<sup>a</sup> A friendly embassy arrived from king *Syphax*, and another was sent to *Ptolemy Philopater* and *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. Many prodigies likewise happened.

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covery of Sicily. The senate thought that the consul ought to return, and choose a dictator to act in his absence; he insisted upon naming Messala, and this being resisted, he quitted Rome by night, so that the senate were compelled to request M. Claudius to elect one, and he chose Q. Fulvius, who, on coming to Rome, sent Cn. Sempr. Blæsus to command the army in Etruria, in place of the prætor C. Calpurnius, whom he called to Capua. A dispute prevented the elections being finished on the first day. The younger Electioneering disputes. Galerian century named Q. Fulvius and Q. Fabius, but the plebeian tribunes C. and L. Arennius denied that the dictator, while presiding over the assembly, ought to appear as a candidate. Fulvius maintained his right by the precedents of C. Junius Bubulcus and Q. Fabius, and this was ratified by the opinion of the senate. A fleet of forty ships, under Hamilcar, sailed into Sardinia, and ravaged Olbia. On the appearance of the prætor P. Manlius Vulso, they turned to Caralita, and thence with booty to Africa.

At the end of the year, Lælius paraded 7.  
the streets with a train of prisoners, and Lælius at Rome.  
gave information respecting the affairs of



A. C. 209. U. C. 543.

Spain, the news of Hasdrubal's intended march into Italy causing much alarm. A supplication was decreed, and Lælius returned to Spain.<sup>b</sup>

A. C. 209. Despite the resistance of the patricians,

8—10.  
Dispute re-  
specting the  
chief curio,  
&c.

C. Mamilius Vitulus was chosen chief curio, and C. Valerius Flaccus was compelled by the pontiff, against his will, to become flamen Dialis, who henceforth reformed his former dissolute habits, and he even was enabled to resume the old privilege of a seat in the senate. Having raised fresh legions, the lieutenant Fulvius was sent by his brother into Etruria with the city force, to recall the legions serving there, and Fabius was sent by his father to take the 3,336 men of Fulvius's army<sup>c</sup> into Sicily, and to remove the two legions and thirty quinqueres thence. The pro-consul M. Valerius was enabled to support the appearance of two armies in Sicily, and, reviewing the province with the cavalry of Mutines, he obtained great quantities of corn, which

<sup>b</sup> Some place the taking of Carthage in the following year. I shall not henceforth enumerate the distribution of provinces, as it will be most easily learnt from the progress of the history, and as it is useless to charge the memory with a load of mere names.

<sup>c</sup> The remnant of Cn. Fulvius's legions were stigmatized in the same manner as those at Cannæ.

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was partly sent to Rome, and partly stored up at Catana.

But the transportation of these soldiers into Sicily caused great dissatisfaction among the Latins and allies, and they began to wish for peace with Hannibal. Discontent among the Latins. Twelve of the thirty colonies remonstrated with the consuls, and declared that they had not the means of supplying men and money. A severe reply had little effect, and the senate were thrown into dismay. They then sounded the feelings of the other eighteen colonies, all of which professed their willingness to stand by the Romans, a declaration which was most honourably received, and the twelve doubtful ones passed over in silent contempt. The vicesimary gold, derived from the value of enfranchised slaves, was drawn out to the amount of 4,000 lbs. weight, and employed in the service.

After the expiation of prodigies, and 11. the election of censors, (who were ordered to let the lands of Campania for farming,) a dispute took place as to who should be chief senator. The censor, Sempronius, obtained the choice by lot, but the other, Cornelius, alleged that precedent required the first on the list of censors then living,

namely, T. Manlius, to be chosen. *Sempronius* contended for freedom of choice, and *Fabius Maximus*, and carried his point. Eight senators, among whom was L. Cæcilius Metellus, and some knights and soldiers were degraded.

12—16. Fulvius first went to Capua, then Fabius, who entreated Marcellus to keep Hannibal employed, while he besieged Tarentum, and ordered the troops at Rhegium to ravage the lands of Bruttium, and besiege Caulon. Marcellus met Hannibal at Canusium, where he was endeavouring to excite revolt, and some doubtful skirmishes took place as the Carthaginians retired. An unsuccessful battle followed, Marcellus bitterly reprov'd his soldiers, and compelled those who had yielded, to fight in front. Despite the elephants of Hannibal, he retrieved his fortunes the next day, and Hannibal retired to Bruttium.

The Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Volscians, surrendered to Fulvius, and were kindly received, and terms of capitulation were sued for by the Brutians, through the medium of Vibius and Pactius. Fabius took Manduria in Sallentum by assault, pitched his camp at the mouth of the harbour of

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Tarentum, and laid siege<sup>d</sup> by sea and land. His efforts were seconded by the commander of a party of Bruttians, who being in love with the sister of a Roman soldier, assisted the enemy to enter, the bulk of the garrison being drawn to the citadel by a false alarm. A vain attempt at resistance was made, Nico and Democrates fell fighting bravely. Philomenus, who had plotted the betraying of the city to Hannibal, rode away, and was missed; Carthalo was slain, while coming to remind the consul of an old tie of hospitality, and a general carnage succeeded. With the pictures and statues Fabius refused to meddle. Hannibal, having taken the besiegers of Caulon under capitulation, arrived too late to relieve Tarentum, and after a few days stay five miles distant, retreated to Metapontum. Here he attempted to seduce Fabius into an ambushade, by a pretended surrender on the part of the Metapontines, but the auspices hindered his setting out, and the plan was discovered.

Edesco, Indibilis, and Mandonius, deserted Hasdrubal with their whole forces,

17—20.  
Successes  
of Scipio  
in Spain.

<sup>d</sup> At Caulon, the besiegers, alarmed at Hannibal's approach, retired to an eminence. §. 15.

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and Hasdrubal resolved to hazard battle before he should be still further weakened. Scipio augmenting his forces with the marines set out from Tarraco, and was met by Indibilis and Mandonius, whom he honourably received. The nearest army was that of Hasdrubal, encamped near Bæcula. A skirmish took place, in which Hasdrubal's cavalry were driven within their works. Hasdrubal drew back by night to a hill, and sent down some light armed troops and Numidians into a plain below, while the rest occupied two hills. Scipio ridiculed this measure, ordered one cohort to secure the entrance of the valley, through which a river, on the rear of the first hill ran, another to secure the road from the city into the country, across the declivity. Then, leading his light armed troops against those posted on the brink of the lower descent, despite the missiles of the enemy he gained level ground, and drove them back into the line posted on the higher eminence. Dividing the rest of the forces with Lælius, who went round the hill on the right in search of a gentler ascent, he made a diversion to the left, and charged the enemy in flank. Lælius came up, and the conquerors cut their

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way through the front lines of the enemy, and the roads both right and left being seized, the slaughter was terrific. Hasdrubal had sent off his treasure, and now, sending on the elephants, he collected his flying troops, and proceeded along the Tagus to the Pyrenees.

Having liberally rewarded his soldiers and Indibilis with booty, Scipio ordered the African prisoners to be sold, but sent home the Spaniards without ransom. They saluted him with the title of king, which he declined. His generosity to Massiva, nephew of Massinissa, rendered him even more popular. Fearing the uniting of the three armies, he declined pursuing Hannibal, and, securing the passes of the Pyrenees he spent the rest of the summer in receiving the submissions of the Spanish states. The other generals joined Hasdrubal too late, and Gisco's son was the only one who thought favourably of matters, deeming the remote tract of Spain near Gades yet attached to the Carthaginian interests. Dreading the effects of Scipio's popularity upon the Spanish soldiers, it was agreed that Hasdrubal should go into Italy, Mago to hire auxiliaries from the Balearic isles, while the other Hasdrubal should

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retire into Lusitania, and that 3,000 horse should be drafted out for Massinissa, to ravage the *land* of the enemy in Hither Spain. Scipio and Fabius both rose in fame, Fulvius was on the decline, and Marcellus even incurred displeasure by having kept his army housed at Venusia during the summer. The charges made by the plebeian tribune C. Publius Bibulus, since his last failure, contributed to this, and Marcellus came to Rome to clear himself, Fulvius to hold the elections, at the same time.

21. But Marcellus so triumphantly defeated his accuser, that he was not only

Marcellus.  
absolved.

A. C. 208. acquitted, but created consul for the fifth time, T. Q. Crispinus being his colleague. Alarm was excited by a letter of C. Calpurnius, stating that the Arretians meditated revolt, but Marcellus removing the army from Apulia to Etruria, put a stop to defection. The petition of the Tarentines for a treaty on equal terms was deferred for consideration till the return of Fabius. A dispute took place as to the legality of C. Servilius, a plebeian, being curule ædile, as his father was still living, who had been supposed dead.

22—4. The distribution of provinces and ex-

A.C. 208. U.C. 544.

piation of prodigies being settled, C. Arreyo. Hostilius Tubulus was ordered to take hostages from the Arretians. They demurred, and he placed the city under guard. A few senators escaped with their children, but those of the rest, 120 in number, were taken to Rome by C. Terentius, upon whose representation, a legion was sent to Arretium as a guard, and new locks fixed to the city gates, the magistrates professing to have lost the keys of the old.

Fabius advocated lenient measures in regard to the Tarentines, amidst a warm dispute in the senate. At the advice of Manius Acilius the town was garrisoned, and the inhabitants confined to their walls, further measures being left till a more tranquil season. Doubts also existed whether M. Lirius, governor of the citadel, deserved praise or censure. Crispinus reinforced the army in Lucania, and Marcellus, after some delay respecting a temple to Honor and Virtue, joined the troops at Venusia, with some recruits. Crispinus was hindered by Hannibal from besieging Locri in Bruttium.

The consuls were encamped between Venusia and Bantia, less than three miles

26—8.  
Stratagem  
of Hanni-  
bal.



A. C. 208. · U. C. 544.

apart, and Hannibal, fearing an encounter with both, watched for an ambuscade. Thinking that the siege of Locri might still be prosecuted, the consuls requested L. Cincius to come over with the fleet from Sicily to Locri, while they sent half the Tarentine garrison. These were nearly cut off by Hannibal under the hill of Petellia. He had also secured a hill between his camp and that of the Romans, and, despite the omens, Marcellus attempted to gain possession of it, and, being suddenly attacked by a Numidian ambuscade, the Etrurians fled, Marcellus lost his life, and the other consul and young Marcellus were wounded. The body of Marcellus was buried by Hannibal, Crispinus decamped the following night, and took up a secure post on some mountains. A deception practised by Hannibal at Salapia with the signet of Marcellus, was foiled by the foresight of Crispinus, and he was compelled to retire with loss. He however raised the siege of Locri.

29. As his wounds prevented his reaching Rome, Crispinus sent to request that confidential persons might be sent to receive his account of affairs, which was

Proceedings  
of the con-  
sul and  
Valerius.

A.C. 208. U.C. 544.

done. M. Valerius had proved very successful against the Carthaginian fleet near Clupea.

Philip had meantime assisted the Achæans against Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, and the Ætoli-<sup>30—3.</sup>ans, who had constituted Attalus their chief magistrate. Proceedings of Philip at Lamia, He defeated Pyrrhias, their other prætor, at Lamia, and went back to Phaleræ, whither ambassadors came from Ptolemy, Rhodes, Athens, and Chios, as also Amynder, king of Athamania, with a view of composing the differences between Philip and the Ætoli-ans, rather to hinder the interference of the former, than out of sympathy with the known insolence of the Ætoli-ans. A thirty days truce was settled, and Philip, leaving troops at Chalcis, to oppose the arrival of Attalus, came to Argos, where he performed the games in honour of Juno, and returned Argos, to the convention at Ægium. Here the Ætoli-ans, by their demands, prevented any pacific measures, and Philip, leaving a guard to protect the Achæans, and having reinforced his armament, went back to the Nemæan games at Argos. During these he made a successful attack upon P. Sulpicius while ravaging the coast Sicyon,

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between Sicyon and Corinth, went back, and indulged in riot and debauchery, particularly with Polycratia, wife of Aratus. He then marched to Dymæ, intending to dislodge an Ætolian garrison received by the Eleans. He was here joined by the Achæans, with whom he crossed the Larissus into Elis.

Although he failed in his attack on and Elis. Elis, that town being reinforced by Sulpicius from Naupactus, Philip shewed that his bravery was undaunted, and he forthwith seized Pyrgus. Alarmed by an account that one Eropus had gained possession of Lychnidus, and some towns of the Dassaretians, and was endeavouring to excite the Dardanians to arms, he left a guard to assist his allies, and hastened to Demetrius in Thessaly. Here he heard that the Dardanians had seized Orestis, and that he himself was supposed to be slain, a portion of his helmet, accidently broken, having been found and carried to Scerdilædus at Ætolia. Sulpicius joined his fleet to that of Attalus at Ægina, where they wintered. The Achæans defeated the Ætolians and Eleans in a battle near Messene.

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Having nominated T. Manlius dictator, Crispinus died of his wounds, either at Tarentum or in Campania. After celebrating the great games, and vowing them for the next lustrum, the dictator held the assembly, and C. Claudius Nero was at once chosen consul. Marcus Livius, who, despite his former degradation,\* was looked upon as an injured man, was persuaded to become his colleague. Among other measures, T. Manlius was directed to go abroad as an ambassador, to learn how matters stood, and, if not hindered, to attend the Olympic games, and assure all Sicilian and Tarentine refugees that their property should be restored to them. Q. Fabius moved that the new consuls should lay aside a disagreement which had previously subsisted between them, and act conjointly for the public good. The Massilians brought daily word of Hasdrubal's entrance into Gaul, and intended passage into Italy. The lustrum was closed, the number of citizens being rated at 137,108, shewing the havoc made by the war.†

\* See XXII, 35. His defence of M. Livius Macatus had first tended to restore his reputation.

† On some doubtful readings here, see the notes.

33—6.  
Claudius  
Nero and  
Livius  
consuls.

A. C. 207. U. C. 545.

37—8. The consuls now entered upon office, and after the expiation of many prodigies, which gave rise to some elaborate ceremonies, being performed by the Roman matrons and virgins,<sup>§</sup> the consuls proceeded to enlist soldiers with great strictness, compelling even the maritime colonies to furnish their quota. Antium and Ostia were alone excepted, and these under a restriction that their young men should not lodge out of their own walls more than thirty days, while the enemy remained in Italy. Livius being dissatisfied with his army, proposed to recall the *volones*, which were accordingly enrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some say that he was also powerfully reinforced from Spain by P. Scipio.

39—40. Farther anxiety was excited by the letter of the prætor L. Porcius, informing them that the Ligurians were preparing to assist Hasdrubal, whose passage over the Alps, contrary to the opinion of Hannibal, had proved an easy work. He however wasted time in attempting the siege of Placentia, which prevented Hannibal from joining him.

<sup>§</sup> On the poem of Livius Andronicus here mentioned, see Festus s. v. Scribæ.

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Sad apprehensions filled the minds of the Romans, who reflected upon the previous balancing of good and ill fortune, and the distressing proximity of the war. Marcus Livius is said to have betrayed some intemperance of language, and resentment against Rome, on being warned by Fabius to avoid a hasty conflict with Hannibal. Before Claudius arrived in his province, as Hannibal was leading his forces towards Sallentum, he was surprised by Tubulus, and defeated with a loss of 4,000 men. To avoid encountering the two armies at once, he withdrew from the Tarentine country into Bruttium. Hostilius marching towards Capua, met Claudius at Venusia; where 40,000 foot, and 2,500 horse were selected out of both armies, with which the consul was to oppose Hannibal. The rest of the forces Hostilius was to take to Capua, and deliver them to Q. Fulvius, the pro-consul.

Combining his forces, Hannibal came 41—2. to Grumentum in Lucania, whither he was followed by the consul Claudius from Venusia, who encamped at a little distance. Hannibal defeated at Grumentum. Sending Tib. Claudius Asellus, and Pub. Claudius, with five cohorts and five additional companies, the

A. C. 207. U. C. 545.

consul seized some hills in the rear of Hannibal's army, and a successful battle followed, in which Hannibal lost more than 8,000 men slain, and 700 taken. After declining battle for some days, he retired into Apulia, leaving a few Numidians in the camp to cover his retreat. He was pursued, and defeated with a loss of about 2,000 men at Venusia. He thence proceeded, by a mountainous track, towards Metapontum, whence Hanno was sent to raise fresh forces in Bruttium, Hannibal returning to Canusium. Nero had ordered Fulvius to come into Lucania, when he himself quitted Metapontum.

43.

Having raised the siege of Placentia, Hasdrubal despatched a letter to his brother; but the messengers, mistaking their road, were seized near Tarentum, and Claudius boldly determined to join his colleague, and strike a decisive blow. Acquainting the senate with his determination,<sup>§</sup> and recommending them to raise new levies, and keep the city legion at Narnia, to intercept the enemy, he sent messengers to the districts through which he was to pass, requesting them to prepare provisions, horses, &c. for his soldiers, and, picking out 6,000 foot and

§ Which caused the greatest alarm at Rome, §. 44.

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1,000 horse of the best in the army, he quitted his own camp, and, pretending that he meant to seize on the nearest town in Lucania, he turned off towards Picenum, and proceeded to his colleague. His encouraging speech to his men was borne out by the kind reception they met with on their way, and they were received into the other camp, and quartered, man upon man, according to rank, to avoid augmenting the size of the camp, and thereby giving notice to the enemy of their increased strength. In council, L. Porcius Licinius, the prætor, assisted, and Nero advised an immediate battle. Although both armies were drawn up in order, Hasdrubal, distracted by doubts and fears, retired at the first watch, and losing their guides, he was overtaken on the banks of the Metaurus.<sup>a</sup> A tremendous battle ensued, particularly Battle of the Metaurus. between Livius and Hasdrubal, the elephants causing terrific confusion, and being frequently killed by their own drivers, while Claudius, having vainly attempted to ascend the hill, drew round some cohorts from his right wing, and took the enemy in the rear. Hasdrubal died bravely fighting, and 56,000 of his army were slain, 5,400

<sup>a</sup> See Niebuhr, Lect. XIII. p. 210.



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taken, besides 4,000 Roman prisoners being recovered. So satisfied was Livius with the victory, that he declined pursuing the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had somehow escaped the carnage. Nero reached his camp immediately after, and Rome was one scene of anxious doubt, and subsequent joy. On a complete account of the victory being given by L. Veturius, a supplication for three days was decreed, and even commerce and general business seemed to derive an impetus from the success lately obtained.<sup>1</sup>

Hannibal, when he saw the head of his brother cast before the camp, felt that the destiny of Carthage was at hand, and withdrew his scattered confederates to Bruttium.

<sup>1</sup> On the consequences of this war, as felt by private individuals, cf. Niebuhr, Lect. XV. p. 224.

ANALYSIS  
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BOOK VIII.

AFFAIRS in Spain now stood thus.\* 1-4.  
Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was near Gades, Affairs in Spain.  
the coast and eastward parts of Spain  
were under Scipio and the Romans, Hanno had  
joined Mago with a new army (chiefly of Celti-  
berians,) in lieu of the one lost with Hasdrubal  
Barcas. M. Silanus was sent by Scipio to oppose  
him with 10,000 foot, and 500 horse, and, being  
informed by deserters, he resolved to attack the  
left hand camp, containing 9,000 Celtiberians, first.  
After halting in a valley three miles distant, he  
went forward, and receiving the charge of javelins  
on their shields, his men closed with the enemy,

\* Cf. Niebuhr, Lect. XIV. p. 211.

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Defeat of  
the Cartha-  
ginians.

and the Carthaginians vainly attempted to reinforce them from the other camp.

Mago and his cavalry fled at the onset, and Hanno was taken prisoner. Hasdrubal, then at Bætica, fled back to Gades, having previously quartered his men in the various towns. Deeming a separate attack upon each too tedious a task, Scipio

Orinx.

marched back, first sending his brother Lucius to besiege Orinx, a city on the Milesian borders. After an obstinate resistance, it was betrayed by the inhabitants, and the number of prisoners taken was immense. Having sent Lucius to Rome with Hanno and other prisoners of rank, Scipio retired to Tarraco.

In this same year Lævinus met with great success against a Carthaginian fleet off Sicily, after having ravaged the lands even up to the very walls of Utica.

5. Sulpicius and Attalus had, at the be-

Affairs with  
Philip.

ginning of summer, joined their fleets, so that they consisted of fifty-eight gallees, and sailed from Ægina to Lemnos. Philip had also come down to the coast of Demetrias, and had appointed a levee at Larissa, where he received embassies from all his allies, who were

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in dread of the Ætolians and Machanidas. Even in his own kingdom Scerdilædus and Pleuratus were at work, and incursions were threatened by the Mædians and others of the Thracians. The Bœotians stated that the Ætolians had blockaded the pass of Thermopylæ, to hinder them from coming to the assistance of the allies. He therefore sent a garrison to Peparethus, which was threatened by Attalus, who had sailed over from Lemnos. Polyphantas was sent to Bœotia with a small guard, Me-  
Philip's plans for defending his allies.  
 nippus to Chalcis with 1,000 targeteers, 500 men were sent to Agrianum. He himself went to Scotussa, ordering the Macedonian troops to be brought thither from Larissa. Failing in his attempt to disturb the assembly of the Ætolians with Attalus at Heraclea, he destroyed the crops, especially round the Ænian bay, and then went back to Demetrias. Beacons were set up in conspicuous places, particularly on Tisæum. Attalus  
Oreum taken.  
 and Sulpicius passed over to Nicæa, thence to Oreum, which was betrayed by Plator during the siege.<sup>b</sup> Sulpicius next attempted Chal-

<sup>b</sup> He however embarked the Macedonian garrison in safety, and sent them to Demetrias, by permission of Sulpicius. §. 6.

A.C. 206. U.C. 546.

cis, but with no success. Giving up all hope of relieving Oreum, Philip hastened to the relief of Chalcis, routed the Ætolian guard at Thermopylæ, and came in one day to Elatia in Phocis.

*Opus.* Opus was taken by Attalus, and the plunder given to his men, but, wasting time in levying contributions, he narrowly escaped being surprised by Philip, and was forced to put to sea. Having rebuked the inhabitants for not holding out, Philip arranged matters at Opus and proceeded to Thronium. Finding that Prusias king of Bithynia, had invaded his kingdom, Attalus gave up the Ætolian war, and returned into Asia. Sulpicius withdrew his fleet to Ægina, and Philip easily recovered Thronium, and taking Tritonos and Drymæ, he came to Elatia, where he deliberated with the ambassadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians, as to concluding the Ætolian war, but was called off to resist Machanidas, who threatened an attack upon the Eleans during the games. Victualling at Corinth, he came to Phlius and Pheneus, and, finding that Machanidas had abandoned his attempt, to Ægium, where he was disappointed by the Carthaginian fleet which he had expected. Notwithstanding his vexation, he

A.C. 206-5. U.C. 546-7.

cheered up the spirits of the allies, gave up Heræa and Triphylia to the Achæans, Aliphera to the Megalopolitans, and, with some additional vessels, sailed to Anticyra, thence to Erythræ, where he obtained some booty, which he sent under Nicias to Ægium, and proceeded to Chalcis, praising the fidelity of the inhabitants. At Cassandra he commenced building 100 ships, and then withdrew to his own kingdom to make war upon the Dardanians.

The consuls, being permitted by the senate, returned in great triumph to Rome, especially Nero. At the recommendation of the consuls, L. Veturius and Q. Cæcilius were chosen consuls by the dictator Livius, who had himself been nominated by Claudius, and who afterwards set out to test the fidelity of the Tuscan and Umbrian states. After the arrangement of provinces and expiation of prodigies, great numbers of the common people were persuaded to return to their lands in the country, which now seemed secure, particularly to Placentia and Cremona. The consuls were assailed by a dangerous attack of Bruttians and Numidians in a narrow

9—11.

Popularity  
of the  
consuls at  
Rome.

A. C. 206.

A. C. 205. U. C. 547.

pass near Consentia, but escaped safe with their booty.<sup>c</sup>

12—16. The hopes of the enemy now seemed to rest upon Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, who had organized a force of<sup>d</sup> 50,000 foot, and 4,500 horse in farther Spain, and rested with Mago, in a plain by Silpia. Being unwilling to place too much dependance upon the barbarian auxiliaries, Scipio sent Silanus to Colcha, who governed twenty-eight towns, to receive soldiers, and collecting a few himself, joined him at Castulo, and further augmenting his army at Bæcula. Some slight engagements gave spirits to his army, which now numbered 45,000.

By changing the anticipated plan of beginning battle, Scipio at length completely defeated the enemy, and the desertion of his allies compelled Hasdrubal to decamp. Although harassed during his flight, he succeeded in escaping to Gades.

After Scipio had blockaded the deserted camp, he spent the seventy days march to Tarraco in rewarding the adherent states.

<sup>c</sup> In §. 12. Livy gives a pleasing sketch of Hannibal's conduct throughout the war, balancing the disadvantages which he had to encounter. See Niebuhr, *ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> Some say 70,000.

Masinissa  
revolts to  
Rome.

State of  
the war  
in Spain.

A.C. 205. U.C. 547.

Masinissa revolted to the Romans, and proved an ally of inviolable fidelity. This put an end to the war in Spain.

Africa now became the field for Scipio's operations, and having, through the medium of Lælius, obtained a safe conduct, he came to the court of Syphax, with whom he concluded a treaty, his amiable conduct winning the esteem even of Hasdrubal, who happened to be present.

The infidelity of Castulo and Illiturgi was fearfully avenged by Scipio and L. Marcius, especially upon Illiturgi, although the inhabitants, conscious of their guilt, made a desperate resistance. Castulo, having made a surrender through Cerdubellus, at the arrival of Scipio, was treated with less severity.

Sending Marcius to subdue the independent barbarians, Scipio returned to New Carthage, and exhibited some combats after the manner of the Lanistæ, in commemoration of the deaths of his father and uncle. Among these Corbis and Orsua determined a dispute respecting the city Ibis, the former obtaining the advantage. Funeral games also followed.

17-18.  
Africa the  
seat of war.League with  
Syphax.19-20.  
Castulo and  
Illiturgi  
besieged.21.  
Funeral  
games.



A.C. 207. U.C. 545.

22—3. Having passed the Bætis (called by the natives Certis,) and got possession of two wealthy cities, Marcius next attempted Astapa, the inhabitants of which had shewn a remarkable animosity to the Romans, and, conscious of their conduct, burnt their women and children with all their effects, and perished by the swords of the victors. Joining Scipio at New Carthage, some deserters came and promised to deliver up Gades, whither Marcius was despatched with some cohorts, seconded by M. Lælius with seven triremes and one pentreme.

24—9. The illness of Scipio threw the whole province into an uneasy state,\* Mandonius and Indibilis, disappointed in their hopes of obtaining the dominion in Spain, attacked the Roman allies, the Suessetanians and Sedetanians. At Sucro there was an open revolt among the 8,000 soldiers there stationed, proceeding from military licentiousness, and government existed only in form. When the tribunes attempted to hinder their mad doings, excited by the false report of Scipio's death, they

Sedition threatened among the Roman allies and army.

\* See Niebuhr, *ibid.* p. 312-3.

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expelled them, bestowed the command on C. Albius of Cales, and C. Atrius of Umbria, privates, who had been the prime movers of sedition, when, on a sudden, while they were hesitating between different reports, Scipio himself sent seven tribunes to them, who enquired politely into the cause of their disaffection. They complained of irregularity in pay, and that their bravery at Illiturgi had been unrewarded. Mandonius and Indibilis retired into their own country, and all quickly yielded to the amiable and just measures of Scipio. Thirty-seven of the leaders of the conspiracy having been inveigled, under friendly pretences, by the seven tribunes, were seized, and Scipio, having in a long oration denounced their conduct, and exhorted the rest to future fidelity, ordered Albius, Atrius, and the other thirty-five to be scourged and beheaded in presence of the whole army.

Meanwhile Hanno had levied 4,000 <sup>so.</sup> African and Spanish youths near the <sup>Lælius at</sup> Bætis, but was beaten by Marcius, and <sup>Carteia.</sup> escaped with but few followers. Lælius sailed through the strait to Carteia, where the sea begins to expand, where he met with a quinquereme, containing the conspirators who had wished to betray

A. C. 206. U. C. 546.

Gades, who had been discovered, and sent under Adherbal to Carthage. As it sailed more slowly, it was sent ahead of his own eight triremes, upon which Lælius bore down. Hesitating whether to follow the quinqueremes or give battle, Adherbal was compelled to do the latter, and a doubtful contest took place, the ships being unable to contend with the eddy stream. At length a Roman quinquereme sunk two of the triremes, and broke the oars from a third. Adherbal escaped with the rest to Africa.

31-4. With the consent of Scipio (the betrayal of Gades having proved abortive) Scipio proceeds against the refractory princes, Marcius returned to New Carthage.<sup>f</sup> Bitterly inveighing against the petty princes who still continued refractory, and encouraging his soldiers to hasten to punish them, he marched over the Ebro, and, coming in sight of the enemy, fell upon them, while attempting to drive off some cattle he had sent on as a lure, and routed them. The day following they en-

<sup>f</sup> Hanno, by this respite, began even to conceive hopes of recovering Spain, and exaggerated the dissensions in the Roman camp. Mandonius and Indibilis, dreading to share the fate of the other conspirators, encamped in Sedeta, with 20,000 foot, and 2,500 horse.

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camped in a valley, too narrow to contain all their men. As the enemy could not completely form their line, Scipio sent his cavalry under Lælius to attack the enemy's horse in the rear, while he fell upon their infantry with his own foot. Thus two pitched battles proceeded at once, and in both the Romans were completely successful. A third troop, posted on the hill, fled with Mandonius and Indibilis. The loss of the Romans was considerable, but they captured the enemy's camp, and 2,000 men. Indibilis sent Mandonius to Scipio, beseeching his clemency. He was kindly received, and a pecuniary mulct was the only punishment of their defection. After the Illergetians had paid this fine, Scipio sent Marcius into farther Spain; Silanus to Tarraco; and then overtook the former not far from the ocean.

whom he  
brings to  
submission.

Masinissa now came to a personal conference with Scipio, and they pledged mutual faith. The former then, with the permission of Scipio, ravaged the adjacent country of the Spaniards, while he went back to Tarraco.

35.

Personal  
conference  
of Scipio  
and Mas-  
nissa.

A.C. 206. U.C. 546.

35—7.

Mago at  
New Car-  
thage and  
Gades.

Mago, who now despaired of success, was ordered to join Hannibal with as many Gauls and Ligurians as he could hire. While sailing along the coast with the treasure sent for this purpose, he made an unsuccessful descent upon New Carthage, and lost several men. At Gades, the gates were shut against him, but, having enticed their *suffetes* to a conference, he scourged and crucified them. At Pityusa he met with a friendly reception and plenty of supplies, and he proceeded to the Balears, but met with such an opposition at Majorca and Minorca, that he was obliged to retire to the third and smaller island. Having obtained an easy possession of this, and enlisted 2,000 auxiliaries, whom they sent to Carthage for the winter, they hauled their ships on shore.

38—9.

Scipio at  
Rome.

Leaving L. Lentulus and L. Manlius Audinus in charge of Spain, Scipio returned to Rome with ten ships, made a recital of his successes in the temple of Bellona, and then carried 14,342lbs. of silver into the treasury, besides a great sum of money. L. Veturius

‡ Niebuhr, p. 211.

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Philo then held the assemblies, and named Scipio consul, and the chief pontiff, P. Licinius Crassus, was his colleague, the former being appointed to act in Sicily, the latter in Bruttium, without lots, as religious matters required the presence of the pontiff in Italy. Games were then celebrated out of the treasure obtained, according to the vow of the consul during the mutiny in Spain. The complimentary embassy of the Saguntines was treated with the utmost consideration, and the senate then proceeded to the arrangement for the war.

People now began to wish that Africa should be constituted a new province, and assigned to Scipio, without casting lots. He himself declared that he must have an army to transport thither, even despite the senate, as he was bent on concluding the war.<sup>b</sup> Fabius, in particular, opposed the measure in a lengthy harangue, attempting to prove that Scipio ought to be satisfied with concluding the second Punic war, as Lutatius had the first, that peace ought first to be restored to Italy, that the Sicilian

40—6.

Disputes  
respecting  
Africa.  
Oration of  
Fabius.

<sup>b</sup> On the opposition to Scipio, and the *lex annalis*, which might have kept him from the consulship, see Nieb., p. 214. Scipio did not attempt to obtain a triumph, as he had not yet been consul.

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expedition of the Athenians was a sufficient warning against expeditions of such magnitude at a distance, and that the Numidian allies were not to be depended upon.

Of Scipio. Scipio resisted the attack with much energy,<sup>1</sup> but, vexed at a report that he intended, if the measure were refused in the senate, to lay it before the people, Fabius called upon the tribunes to join him in refusing to give their opinion, in order to hinder him doing so. They agreed with him, and Scipio was compelled to submit the matter to the senate, who decreed Sicily and Bruttium to be the provinces, the former of which fell to Scipio, with the thirty ships hitherto commanded by Servilius, and liberty to pass into Africa, if necessary; the other consul had the army of Q. Cæcilius or L. Veturius. Scipio's games were next celebrated, and a golden crown and silver representations of the spoils were sent to Delphi. Scipio was permitted to enrol volunteers, and to receive contributions towards the fleet. The Cærites promised corn and provisions; the Populanians, iron; the Tar-

Contributions to the war.

A. C. 205.

<sup>1</sup> Neither Scipio at the time, nor Niebuhr since, could excuse Fabius from a charge of envy at Scipio's success.

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quinians, canvass; the Volaterrans, tackling and corn; the Arretians, 30,000 shields and helmets, and 50,000 of javelins and long spears, together with other commodities for forty ships, and 120,000 pecks of wheat, and a contribution for the decurions and rowers. The Perusians, Clusians, and Rusellans promised fir, timber, and corn; the Umbrians, Nursians, Reates, Amiternians, and Sabines, soldiers; and many Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrusinians volunteered; the Cameritans sent a cohort of 600 armed men. Having laid the keels of thirty ships, twenty quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes, Scipio superintended the work with such diligence, that the ships were launched forty-five days after the timber had been brought from the state woods.

Having embarked 7,000 volunteers, Scipio went to Sicily with thirty ships of war. At Bruttium, Licinius choosing the army lately commanded by Veturius, left the other to Metellus, who was to act with him. As money was wanting, the quæstors were ordered to sell the Campanian district between the Grecian trench and the sea; and all lands belonging to any native were sought for, with a reward offered for their discovery, while the



prætor Servilius was ordered to compel the Campanians to dwell where the senate had decreed.

Mago had meantime surprised Genoa, left ten ships to guard his plunder at Savo, and sent the rest to guard the coast of Carthage from a rumoured attack of Scipio. He formed an alliance with the Ingaunians, a Ligurian tribe, against the Epanterian mountaineers. Here his army was greatly reinforced by the Gauls, and the senate, becoming anxious at the accounts of Sp. Lucretius, ordered the pro-consul, M. Livius, to march an army of *volones* from Etruria to Ariminum, and the prætor Cn. Servilius to lead out the city legions, if necessary: so Lævinus conducted them to Arretium. Eighty transport ships were taken on the coast of Sardinia by Cn. Octavius, carrying either corn or plunder. Both sides had suffered from a pestilence, and the Carthaginians were also pressed by famine. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where he built an altar, on which was a pompous description of his exploits in Greek and Carthaginian characters.

ANALYSIS  
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BOOK IX.

1.           **HAVING** formed his forces into cohorts and centuries, Scipio kept 300 unarmed and unenrolled, whom, upon the 300 chosen Sicilians complaining of the hardness of the service, he substituted in their place, on condition of their arming, mounting, and instructing their substitutes. He also chose out those most experienced in the art of besieging towns, cantoned his army in different districts, ordered a supply of corn from the Sicilian states, and having arranged his new fleet at Panormus, while the old one went to plunder Africa under C. Lælius, he came to Syracuse, where he compelled the Italians to refund the possessions they had taken from the Greeks.

Scipio's  
measures  
for organiz-  
ing cavalry.

A. C. 205. U. C. 547.

2-3. Indibilis, despising all other generals but Scipio, excited the Illergetians, Ausetanians and others to revolt, and mustered an army of 30,000 foot and 4,000 horse in Sedeta. Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus marched quietly through the country of the Ausetanians, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to lay aside their arms, but in vain. A doubtful skirmish ensued, but on the following day the enemy were beaten, Indibilis fell, and Mandonius was given up to punishment. Hostages were then received, and imposts ordered, and thus this rebellion was quelled in a few days.

4. The arrival of Lælius at Hippo, terrified the Carthaginians, who exaggerated his resources, and their own misfortunes, fearing that it was Scipio himself who had come. They then levied soldiers with all haste, sent to Syphax\* and other princes, and bribed Philip to invade Sicily and Italy, while to Mago they sent large supplies, and twenty-five ships, with 6,000 foot and 800 horse. Masinissa, meeting Lælius,

\* "Who had, meantime, been entirely gained over by the Carthaginians, and Hasdrubal had given him his daughter *Sophonisba* in marriage." Nieb. p. 216.

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while carrying off the booty he had taken, advised that Scipio should hasten into Africa.

Mago, on the arrival of the ships, held 5.  
a council of the Gauls and Ligurians, and the former promised him such help as they could send him secretly (the Romans being in their country,) the latter stipulated for two months to form their levy. M. Livius joined Lucretius in Gaul with the *volones*, keeping a look out both for Mago, and the defence of Italy, near Ariminum.

Notwithstanding the representations of 6-9.  
Masinissa, Scipio went to attempt the Recovery of Locri. recovery of Locri, through some artisans who had been carried to Rhegium, where some of the banished chiefs of the Roman party met them. On their coming to Scipio at Syracuse, he sent M. Sergius and P. Matienus with 3,000 men, and the pro-prætor Q. Pleminius. The walls were scaled, the guard slain, the citadel abandoned at the first alarm, and the Carthaginian garrison fled with Hamilcar to an adjoining fortress. The city lay between, both garrisons kept increasing, but the news of Hannibal's approach brought Scipio to the attack. Hannibal failed both in the field and against the city, and decamped. Having

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punished the authors of the revolt, Scipio recommended the Locrians to apply to the Romans, and left Pleminius governor. But his rapacity and cruelty, particularly to the two tribunes, Sergius and Matienus, even surpassed the conduct of Hamilcar.

10—11. As P. Licinius and his army were suffering from sickness, he was permitted to nominate Cæcilius Metellus dictator, whose army was disbanded.<sup>b</sup> The new consuls were M. Cornelius Cethegus and P. Sempronius.

12. The latter consul had been engaged in arranging a peace with Philip at Phœnice, in Epirus, who, in consequence of their being neglected by the Romans, had reduced the Ætolians to submission, although he narrowly escaped a dangerous attack from the consul. The Epirots were also included in the truce, as also Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians. On the Roman side were included the Ilians, Eleans, Messenians, Athenians, as also Attalus, Pleuratus, and Nabis.

<sup>b</sup> §. 11. is occupied with a description of the arrival of the Idæan Mother from Pessinus, and with the enumeration of the elections. Scipio seemed destined to be the destroyer of *Carthage*.

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Etruria, with the old army, was decreed to Cornelius, Bruttium to Sempronius, with power to levy new legions. Scipio and Licinius were to continue in command, as also M. Livius and Sp. Lucretius. Lentulus and L. Manlius, were sent as pro-consuls to Spain.

13.

Various prodigies inclined the minds of the Romans to hope for the complete conquest of Africa: Scipio, being universally considered the best man in Rome, set out to meet the Idæan goddess at Ostia, who was borne by the matrons<sup>c</sup> to the temple of Victory. A feast, and the great games followed.

14—22.

Measures  
respecting  
Africa.

The twelve colonies which had formerly refused military service, were now ordered to supply twice the number of footmen they had formerly sent, as also 120 horse, or, if horse were wanting, three footmen instead. By detaining the deputies of the states, all mitigation of the sentence was prevented, and the levies were speedily completed.

The colo-  
nies.

<sup>c</sup> Among whom was Claudia Quinta, whose character was freed from all doubt by this act of religion.

A.C. 264. U.C. 248.

The public  
debts paid  
by instal-  
ments.

Lævinus then moved that the public faith be supported by the payment of the monies advanced by private persons during his consulship, and three instalments were ordered to be paid, one forthwith, and the others by the third and fifth consuls following.

Pleminius  
and Scipio  
arraigned  
respecting  
Locri.

A mournful embassy arrived from Locri, denouncing the cruelties of Pleminius, the negligence of Scipio, and Fabius bitterly inveighed against the latter, as having corrupted military discipline, and proposed that Pleminius should take his trial in chains, and Scipio be recalled, as having gone out of his province without leave, and that the sense of the people be taken as to his retaining his commission; that a favourable answer be made to the Locrians, and satisfaction and expiation for their injuries; that the rapacity of the garrison be punished by their removal into Sicily, and that four Latin cohorts be brought to Locri instead. The dispute was aggravated by a charge against Scipio of loose and effeminate conduct. But Metellus opposed the recall of Scipio, and advised that the prætor M. Pomponius, ten deputies of *the senate*, two tribunes of the people, and an

A. C. 204. U. C. 548.

edile should be sent to enquire into matters, and act in respect to Scipio as they might find whether he had, or had not, sanctioned the cruelties in question.

Some say that Pleminius was going into exile at Naples, but was forcibly taken back to Rhegium by Metellus; others, that Scipio had himself sent a lieutenant and thirty chosen horse to arrest him and the ringleaders of the mutiny. The deputies first restored the sacred money to the treasury, which Pleminius and his soldiers had appropriated to their own use. The praetor then ordered the soldiers to quit the city, while the inhabitants seized their own effects. He then restored them to their own laws and liberty, and ordered such as had any charges against either Pleminius or Scipio to follow him to Rhegium. They declined making any charge against Scipio but Pleminius and thirty-two others were sent in chains to Rome, and the former died in prison before his trial was over. The deputies found that Scipio had everything in so complete a state of preparation, that all suspicions were silenced, and he was permitted by a vote of the senate, to pass into Africa with whatever forces he chose.



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23—35. <sup>d</sup>The Carthaginians were in a state of anxious preparation, but had derived advantage from the marriage of Sophonisba with Syphax,\* who had been persuaded by Hasdrubal to advise Scipio to carry on the war at a distance, lest he should himself be compelled to take an active part, where he preferred neutrality. Scipio, in return, entreated him to be mindful of the laws of hospitality. But he deceived his army with a belief that both Masinissa and Syphax desired their immediate presence in Africa, and sending to M. Pomponius to join him at Lilybæum, he reviewed the forces, and chose numbers from those who had failed in the battle at Cannæ. Lælius had the care of the seamen, Pomponius of shipping the stores; and food for forty-five days was put on board, ready dressed for fifteen. Scipio and Lucius covered the transports on the right division with twenty ships of war, C. Lælius, and M. Porcius Cato the left with a like number, each with signals.

<sup>d</sup> In §. 25. are a variety of statements respecting the number of soldiers who passed into Africa, varying between 12,200 and 35,000 men.

<sup>e</sup> The characters of Syphax and Masinissa are somewhat *freely handled* by Niebuhr, p. 217.

A.C. 204. U.C. 548.

Emporium, possessing a fertile soil and unwarlike inhabitants was to be the first point at which they touched.<sup>f</sup>

Having offered the customary prayers and sacrifices, Scipio set sail, and with some slight hindrances<sup>g</sup> from the fog, arrived at Cape Fair, on the coast of Africa. The consternation was great on their landing, for Hasdrubal was the only hope of Carthage, and he was far inferior to Scipio, and possessed but an indifferent army at home. The city was in a state of guard, as though the enemy were at its gates, and 500 men were sent out as scouts, to disturb the enemy on their landing. Most of them were cut off by the advanced guards of Scipio, who had sent his fleet to Utica, and had seized on the high grounds, whence he harassed and plundered the enemy. After taking a city which furnished great booty, and many prisoners, Scipio was joined by Masinissa with some horse.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> With the description of the fleet, in §. 36, compare Thucydides IV.

<sup>g</sup> Exaggerated by Cælius, §. 27.

<sup>h</sup> Some say 200, others 2,000. This doubt introduces a digression respecting the fortunes of Masinissa. He was the son of Gala, whose aged brother, Æsalces, inherited the throne.

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The Carthaginians made up a new body of cavalry, which they entrusted to Hanno, desired Hasdrubal to come to the aid of their city, and entreated aid from Syphax. Hanno endeavoured to augment his cavalry, particularly with Numidians, but when Scipio, then at Utica, heard that they were housed in Salera, he determined to take advantage of their inactivity, and Masinissa deceiving the enemy by counterfeited assaults or retreats, led them into an ambush of the Roman cavalry. He then took a sudden turn, and 1,000 men, of

and was in turn succeeded by his eldest son, Capusa, who was slain in a battle fought against Mezetulus, who disputed his title, and assumed that of Protector, and gave the name of king to Lacumaces, the son of Mezetulus. He married a former wife of *Æsalces*, niece of Hannibal, and renewed an hospitable connection with Syphax, as a defence against Masinissa. The latter applied to Bocchar, king of the Moors, who gave him an escort of 4,000, but declined assisting him in a war. On arriving in Numidia, he was joined by 500 of his countrymen, and, falling upon Lacumaces, compelled him to flight, and took the city. His success speedily collected an army around him, and, though with inferior forces, he defeated Mezetulus, and recovered his father's throne. He even succeeded in bringing over Mezetulus and Lacumaces to his side, by offers of a liberal provision at home. Hasdrubal now began to alarm Syphax with the fear that Masinissa would not rest content with his paternal kingdom, and, pitching his camp upon the borders, he routed Masinissa, who fled to mount Balbus with a few followers, whence he ravaged and plundered the surrounding lands, Syphax declining to pursue

A.C. 204. U.C. 548.

the first division, were slain with their commander Hanno, and the rest took to flight.<sup>i</sup>

This same day the ships returned with stores from Sicily, as if to carry off a new freight of booty.<sup>k</sup> Having garrisoned Salera, Scipio set out to ravage the country, and having sent off his ships, laid siege to Utica. But Syphax, now the only hope of the enemy, arrived with 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and the approach of winter compelled him to abandon the attempt. He then fortified a winter camp on a promontory, joined to the continent by an

35.

Further exploits.

Attempt upon Utica.

a mere robber. Bocchar was however sent against him with 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and Masinissa had a narrow escape, first with fifty followers, and then near Clupea. It was supposed he had perished in swimming down a torrent, but he succeeded in rallying an army, and recovering his kingdom. He then provoked the enemy to war, taking post between Cirtha and Hippo. Vermina was sent against him, and he was compelled to escape to the lesser Syrtis with sixty horse, until the arrival of Lælius. Hence Livy thinks that his number of soldiers must have been but small on the present occasion.

<sup>i</sup> Some doubts exist respecting the death of Hanno, or whether two generals of that name were slain.

<sup>k</sup> "Masinissa had led out the Carthaginians to an expedition which he had planned with Scipio. Scipio lay in ambush, fell upon the Carthaginians, and Masinissa went over to the Romans." Niebuhr, *ibid.*, who refers to Appian, *de Reb. Pun.* 13, 14.

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isthmus, on the middle of which the legions were stationed, the ships being hauled on shore.

36. Various stores were imported from Sicily and Italy, and additional corn from Sardinia by Cn. Octavius, so that new granaries were built. A stock of clothing was also provided for the army of Scipio by the prætor Tib. Claudius. In Bruttium, P. Sempronius fought an unsuccessful battle with Hannibal on his march in Croton, but joining his colleague, P. Licinius, and vowing a temple to Fortuna Primigenia, the Carthaginians were routed with great loss, drew off to Croton. M. Cornelius the consul kept Etruria in obedience, despite of Mago, holding the enquiry respecting suspected persons with the greatest impartiality.

37-8. The censors called over the list, and Fabius was again chosen chief senator, seven were disgraced, but not holding curule offices. The public roads and buildings were repaired, and a temple built for the Great Mother on the Palatine. A tax was also levied on salt, which had hitherto been sold at  $\frac{1}{6}$ -as. Livius, who was supposed to have done this in revenge upon those tribes which had condemned him, thence derived the

A. C. 204. U. C. 548.

surname of Salinator. The census was found to be 214,000 citizens, including those in the provinces, and Claudius closed the lustrum. In the review of knights, Nero cited M. Livius to sell his horse, which was kept for him at the public expense, as having been condemned by a sentence of the people, and he in turn bade his colleague do likewise, as having acted falsely and without sincerity. Hence sprung a bitter quarrel, Claudius left Livius disfranchised on the treasury list, but Livius disfranchised the whole Roman people, as having either condemned him falsely, or elected him to office when unworthy. Cn. Bæbius, a plebeian tribune, summoned them to trial, but this was hindered by the senate.

During the same summer, the consul took Clamptia in Bruttium; Consentia, Pandosia, and other towns surrendered. Cornelius was recalled from Etruria to hold the elections, and chose Cn. Servilius Cæpio and C. Servilius Geminus consuls. Golden *quadrigæ* were placed in the Capitol by the curule ædiles, C. Livius and M. Servilius Geminus, and the Roman and plebeian games were celebrated.

ANALYSIS  
OF THE  
SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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BOOK X.

1—2.       THE new consuls consulted the senate  
Affairs at as to public affairs, and it was decreed  
Rome.       that Servilius Cæpio, having obtained  
Bruttium by lot, should receive the army of Sempronius, who was to succeed P. Licinius,\* who was to return home. Servilius Geminus obtained Etruria. Lucretius was occupied in rebuilding Genoa, and P. Scipio was continued in command for an unlimited period, and a supplication ordained for his success.

As the chief guards of Sicily had been removed, 3,000 men were raised for it, and the coast was defended by forty ships, thirteen of which were

\* Livy gives a sketch of his character.

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new, under P. Villius. M. Pomponius embarked the new soldiers. A like number of ships was given to Cn. Octavius for the defence of Sardinia, and its prætor, Lentulus, was to supply 2,000 marines; forty also to M. Marcius for the coast of Italy, for which the consuls enlisted 3,000 men, and also two city legions. Lentulus and Acridinus had the care of Spain. Thus twenty legions and 160 ships of war were employed.

Having expiated the prodigies, and celebrated the great games vowed by Torquatus, three years before, the generals set out, making Africa the chief object of their attention.

Although engaged in the siege of Utica, with Hasdrubal's camp in sight, while the Carthaginian fleet waited to intercept his supplies, Scipio endeavoured to conciliate Syphax.<sup>b</sup> At first he stipulated that the Romans should evacuate Africa, on condition of the Carthaginians quitting Italy. In order to gain opportunities for entering the enemy's camp, which seemed likely to be burnt easily,<sup>c</sup> Scipio seemed

<sup>b</sup> Antius asserts that Syphax came to Scipio's camp in person. §. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Niebuhr, *ibid.* p. 217.



A. C. 203. U. C. 549.

to incline to accept these conditions, and sent his most approved centurions, dressed as servants, to ramble through the camp, and ascertain where the Carthaginians were encamped, where the Numidians, how far from each other Hasdrubal and the king were, and whether their watches might be surprised. As soon as sufficient knowledge was obtained, Scipio demanded a distinct answer, and, upon some unreasonable conditions being proposed, he broke the truce, launched his ships, as if for an attack on Utica, also sending 2,000 men to seize a hill that overlooked that place, in order to divert attention from his real attempt.

Scipio  
burns the  
enemies'  
camps.

Summoning a council, among whom was Masinissa, he made the spies give information of their discoveries, and ordered the troops to march at sound of trumpet as soon as the prætorian meeting was broken up. They arrived about midnight at the enemies' camps, seven miles distant, where Scipio ordered Lælius and Masinissa to attack and burn the camp of Syphax, and fall upon the enemy while alarmed and unarmed. All that escaped the flames were cut off by Scipio, but Hasdrubal and Syphax escaped with 2,000 foot and 500 horse, ill-armed,

A.C. 203. U.C. 549.

wounded, or injured by the fire. Forty thousand perished, 5,000 were taken, among whom were eleven senators, and many nobles, 174 standards, 2,700 horses. The arms were dedicated to Vulcan and burnt.

Hasdrubal at first fled to the nearest city, but quitted it, fearing to be delivered up. It was immediately afterwards yielded to the Romans. Syphax halted at a strong post eight miles distant. Hasdrubal immediately convened the Carthaginian senate by means of the *suffetes*: some proposed to come to terms of peace with Scipio, others to recall Hannibal, others to hold out to the last, in which they were supported by Hasdrubal. Accordingly they sent to Syphax, whose queen persuaded him not to suffer Carthage to share the fate of the camps. Encouraged by the arrival of 4,000 Celtiberians at Alba, Syphax joined Hasdrubal's force in a few days, jointly numbering 30,000 men.

Leaving a small number of men to keep up the siege, Scipio left Utica, and after a few slight skirmishes, came to battle on the fourth day. The Celtiberians held out with desperation, but the rest gave way, and

7.  
8-10.  
Fresh defeat of the enemy.

A. C. 203. U. C. 549.

night alone put an end to the carnage. The next day, Lælius and Masinissa, with the light infantry and cavalry were sent in pursuit, while Scipio reduced the Carthaginian cities in that part of the country.

State of Carthage. At Carthage the consternation was great, they fortified the city anew, and many wished to recall Hannibal. Others were for surprising the ships stationed at Utica, and their fleet was accordingly got ready with the utmost celerity. Scipio had just captured Tunis, when the Carthaginian ships appeared in view, and, as his vessels were unprepared for engagement, drew back his men of war, and opposed a line of transports to the enemy, fastened together by beams and cords, upon which he laid planks, forming a passage along the whole line, leaving passages for the scout-boats to pass through. He manned them with 1,000 picked soldiers. The Carthaginians put in at Ruscino, and next day failing in drawing out the Romans to sea, attacked their wall of ships. By throwing heavy harpoons upon the transports, they broke five, and captured six of them, with which trifling good *fortune*, they returned to Carthage in high spirits.

A. C. 207. U. C. 545.

On the arrival of Lælius and Masinissa in Numidia, Massylia joyfully submitted to the latter, and Syphax retired within his own dominions, whence he collected a large, but ill-disciplined force, and harassed the enemy by skirmishes, particularly of the Masæsylians. But, attempting to rally his forces, when oppressed by the Roman infantry, he was thrown from his horse and taken alive into the presence of Lælius and Masinissa. A vast multitude fled to Carthage whither they were pursued by Masinissa,<sup>d</sup> taking with him the captive Syphax in chains. This sight compelled the inhabitants to surrender, but, as Masinissa entered the palace, Sophonisba met him, and, as he could not comply with her entreaties to deliver her from the Romans, he yielded to passion, and married her immediately. Lælius on his arrival, was at first determined to tear her from him, and send her with the other captives to Scipio, but he changed his mind, and resolved to leave it to the judgment of the proconsul.

11—15.

Syphax is  
taken  
prisoner.

<sup>d</sup> See Niebuhr, p. 218. and the Universal History, T. xii. p. 327. In the latter work will be found an excellent history of this war, combining the various accounts of authors with considerable diligence.

A.C. 206. U.C. 546.

Syphax was treated with the greatest kindness by Scipio, who speedily discovered that Sophonisba's charms and advice had been the chief cause of his defection. When, therefore, Masinissa arrived, he bitterly reproached him with his conduct, admonished him that the spoils and prisoners taken belonged to the Romans, and bade him beware of yielding to female blandishments. Masinissa's interest prevailed over his love, and he sent poison to the hapless queen, who took it with the greatest firmness. His mind was eased of its weight of grief by the commendations and honours bestowed upon him by Scipio, who legalized his title of king, and gave him hopes of becoming master of all Numidia.

16—17. The Carthaginians were now compelled to send thirty deputies to Tunis, to treat with Scipio for a peace. Their behaviour was most servile, and he prescribed the following terms; that they should give up the prisoners and deserters, evacuate Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and the islands between Italy and Africa, deliver up all their ships of war but twenty, furnish 500,000 measures of wheat, and

The Carthaginians sue for peace.

A.C. 203. U.C. 549.

300,000 of barley, together with a sum of money.\* They concluded a truce, bringing a few of the prisoners and deserters to keep up a show of obedience, but in reality to gain time, until Hannibal should come over to Africa, and meantime despatched an embassy to Rome.

But before they arrived, Lælius had brought Syphax and the other prisoners to Rome, and the king was sent prisoner to Alba, a supplication for four days being decreed, and, on recital of the victories by P. Ælius and C. Lælius, general rejoicing succeeded. Masinissa's ambassadors then appeared, who congratulated the senate, and lauded the successes of Scipio. These compliments were returned to Masinissa by the senate, with regal presents, and gifts to each of the ambassadors, and their attendants, as also to the Numidian prisoners, who were to be sent back.

The prætor P. Quintilius Varus and <sup>18—20.</sup> the proconsul M. Cornelius brought <sup>Mago de-</sup> Mago to battle in the country of the <sup>feated in</sup> Insubrian Gauls. Finding that nothing but a <sup>Gaul.</sup> bold effort would overcome the enemy, Quintilius,

\* Some say 5,000 talents, some 5,000 lbs. of silver. It is also said that double pay for the troops was imposed.

A. C. 203. U. C. 549.

with his son Marcus, charged them with the cavalry, and, four of the elephants, which Mago had brought up to support his men, being slain, Mago himself was wounded in the thigh, and borne away. Five thousand fell, and the rest betook themselves to flight. The Romans themselves lost 2,300 men, chiefly of the twelfth legion, among whom were the tribunes M. Cosconius and M. Mænius.

Setting out the next night, Mago arrived on the coast in the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians, where he was met by the Carthaginian deputies with the ships in the Gallic bay, who ordered him to go into Africa as quickly as possible. He died of his wound as he passed Sardinia, on the coast of which several Carthaginian ships were captured by the Roman fleet.

*In Etruria,* Servilius had done nothing remarkable in Etruria, except rescuing his father C. Servilius and his uncle C. Lutatius from slavery. On being excused having accepted the offices of plebeian, tribune, and ædile, he returned to his province.

*In Bruttium.* Consentia, Uffugum, Vergæ, Besidiæ, Hetriculum, Sypheum, Argentanum,

A. C. 203. U. C. 549.

Clampetia, and other small states came over to Cn. Servilius, who had fought a battle in the Crotonian district, of which we have no certain information.

On the deputies desiring Hannibal to go over to Africa, he gave way to despair, declaring that his own countrymen, and not the Romans, had, by shackling his efforts, proved his conquerors. Dismissing his superfluous soldiers, under the form of garrisons, into some towns of Bruttium, which fear rendered still faithful, he carried the rest into Africa. Some Italians who refused to follow him, and who had taken refuge in the temple of Juno Lacinia, were sacrilegiously massacred. Hannibal quitted Italy with the bitterest self-reproaches and regret that he should have wasted his strength at Casilinum, Cumæ, and Nola.

News arrived that Mago and Hannibal had departed for Africa, and the joy of the people was mingled with regret that the Roman commanders had failed to hinder their departure, and with anxiety for the final issue of the war. The Sanguntine ambassadors brought some Carthaginians to Rome, who had come into Spain

Feelings of Hannibal.

21.

Feelings of the Romans.



A. C. 203. U. C. 549.

to hire auxiliaries, together with 250lbs. of gold, and 80lbs. of silver, taken from them. The gold and silver was returned with thanks, and a convoy to Spain, while the agents were imprisoned. At a motion of the elder senators, a supplication was decreed for five days, and 120 of the greater victims were offered.

22—3. Hearing that the Carthaginian ambassadors had been seen at Puteoli, C. Lælius was recalled to be present. They were conducted to Rome by Q. Fulvius Gillo, but not allowed to enter the city. In an audience in the temple of Bellona, they laid the whole blame upon Hannibal, and desired a renewal of the terms concluded with Lutatius. But on the senate questioning them, it appeared that they were young men, ignorant of the terms they proposed, and, at the motion of Lævinus, they were almost silently dismissed.<sup>f</sup>

Cneius Servilius passed over into Sicily in pursuit of Hannibal, intending to follow him into Africa. The prætor was at

<sup>24.</sup>  
C. Servilius recalled.  
<sup>f</sup> M. Livius wished that Cn. Servilius should be sent for, Q. Metellus, Scipio, Lævinus regarded these men as spies, and Lælius and Fulvius observed that the Carthaginians were only attempting to gain time by a pretended compliance.

A.C. 208. U.C. 549.

first ordered to recall him ; but, as he seemed not likely to attend to such a summons, P. Sulpicius was created dictator, who recalled him, and then, with M. Servilius, master of the horse, spent the year in examining into the conduct of the cities which had forfeited allegiance. During the truce, 100 transports arrived from Sardinia in safety at Africa, but 200 under Cn. Octavius, with thirty ships of war, were driven by a tempest to Ægimurus, where many of them became the prey of the Carthaginians.<sup>ε</sup>

The ambassadors sent by Scipio to re-  
monstrate against this breach of truce,  
narrowly escaped violence, and only obtained from  
the magistrates a convoy to Bragada. But they  
were again pursued by two quadriremes, and after  
a gallant defence, were compelled to run aground,  
when the greater part succeeded in preserving  
their lives, but the ship was lost. Scipio  
declined imitating such behaviour, and,  
on the arrival of the Carthaginian am-  
bassadors with Lælius and Fulvius, he sent them  
back, and then prepared for war. On drawing  
nigh the land, Hannibal was discouraged by an ill

25.

Breach of  
truce.Conduct of  
Scipio.

<sup>ε</sup> See Niebuhr, p. 219.

A. C. 203-2. U. C. 549-50.

omen, and turned his course to Leptis, where he disembarked.

26. Towards the end of the year, the allies in Greece petitioned for aid against Philip, who had refused audience to their complaints respecting the ravaging of their lands, and stated that Sopater was marching to the assistance of the Carthaginians with 4,000 men and some money. C. Ter. Varro, C. Mamilius, and M. Aurelius were sent to remonstrate with the king. A great fire took place on the Publician Hill, as also several floods, but provisions were so plentiful, that a quantity of corn brought from Spain, was sold for four asses a bushel. Q. Fabius Maximus died at a very advanced age, some asserting that he had been augur sixty-two years, which post was then given to his son.<sup>h</sup>

27—28. The new consuls M. Servilius Geminus and T. Claudius Nero insisted that Africa should be given by lot, and it fell to Claudius, who had fifty quinqueremes to take thither, with authority equal to that of Scipio.

<sup>h</sup> A few discrepancies here occur as to the officers of the year. With the character of Fabius here delineated, compare the remarks of Niebuhr, Lect. XII., p. 201.

A. C. 202. U. C. 550.

M. Servilius obtained Etruria, but lest he should be wanted at Rome, C. Servilius was continued in command. The city jurisdiction was vested in C. Aurelius Cotta, but only sixteen legions were employed in the war this year. The consular games were celebrated, and the victims offered which Manlius had vowed five years before.<sup>1</sup>

Meantime Hannibal had arrived at <sup>29—35.</sup> Hadrumetum, where, finding all the <sup>Battle of Zama.</sup> country round Carthage possessed by the enemy, he marched to Zama. Some of his spies were intercepted by Scipio, who shewed them through the camp, and bade them tell Hannibal what they had seen. He was alarmed to find that Masinissa had just arrived with 6,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and determined to call Scipio to a conference,<sup>2</sup> which took place near the city Nedagara. He offered to yield up Sicily, Sardina, Spain, and the islands between Africa and Italy, but Scipio demanded additional compensation for the ships and stores, and the conference broke up without being settled. Both sides then prepared for battle.

<sup>1</sup> In §. 28 Livy details the feelings entertained on both sides.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether he took this step of his own accord. §. 29.

A.C. 202. U.C. 550.

Having encouraged his men, Scipio drew them up in columns,<sup>1</sup> leaving spaces between, through which the elephants of the enemy might pass, without disturbing their ranks. Lælius, now quæstor, had the Italian cavalry, on the left wing; Masinissa the Numidian, on the right. The intervals between the columns were filled with light armed troops, who were to retire back or sideways, as the elephants approached. Hannibal placed eighty elephants in front, then the Ligurians and Gauls, with the Balearians and Moors intermixed. Next came the Carthaginians, Africans, and the Macedonian legion, and, after an interval, a reserve body of Italians, chiefly pressed from Bruttium. The Carthaginian cavalry were posted on the right flank, the Numidians on the left. While Hannibal was variously encouraging his motley forces, the war-cry was raised by the Romans, and the elephants on the left wing took fright, and rushed upon their own men. Masinissa charged the Moors and Numidians, while in disorder, and stripped that line of its defence of cavalry. A few of them ran among the Romans, but being driven back, gave the like opportunity to Lælius, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Niebuhr, XV. p. 222, who refers to Polyb. XV. 9.

A. C. 202. U. C. 550.

thus both flanks became exposed, and the infantry were totally unequal to the Roman.<sup>m</sup> Moreover, their own mercenaries turned against them, and the battle became hand to hand with the best men of both sides. Lælius and Masinissa returned from pursuing the cavalry, fell upon the rear of the enemy, and completely routed them. Above 20,000 of the enemy were slain, a like number taken, with 133 standards, and 11 elephants. The Romans lost 2,000. Hannibal fled to Hadrumetum, and was thence summoned to Carthage, thirty-seven years after he had left it. In the senate-house he acknowledged his total defeat throughout the war.<sup>n</sup>

Scipio returned with an immense booty 36—8.  
to the fleet, P. Lentulus having arrived The Carthaginians  
at Utica with fifty ships of war, 100 solicit  
transports, and large stores. Despatching Lælius peace.  
to Rome with news of the victory, he sent the  
legions home by land under Lentulus, and him-

<sup>m</sup> The Roman war shout was rendered more terrible by all using the same sounds, whereas the enemies' was varied and dissonant. §. 34.

<sup>n</sup> Scipio acknowledged the skill of Hannibal's tactics. §. 35. A good account of this battle will be found in the Universal History, p. 333, vol. xii.

A. C. 202. U. C. 550.

self steered for the harbour of Carthage with the double fleet, in order to alarm the enemy. A deputation of ten sent to solicit peace was referred to Tunis, but on his way thither, he found that Vermina, son of Syphax, was hastening to the aid of the Carthaginians with a large body chiefly of horse. These were cut off on their march, and the prince escaped with a few attendants. Thirty ambassadors received audience at Tunis, and Scipio, fearing that a successor might claim the glory of terminating a war which his exploits had brought to a conclusion, inclined to peace likewise.

**Conditions.** But his terms were more severe, as he only allowed them to retain ten ships of war, and no elephants, they were to conclude a passive, offensive, and defensive alliance with the Romans and with Masinissa, supply corn and pay to the army till the ambassadors sent to Rome should return, pay 10,000 talents in fifty years, by equal instalments, restore all ships, prisoners, deserters, and all land or booty taken from Masinissa. On these conditions the Roman armies were to leave Africa within sixty days after the conclusion of the treaty.<sup>o</sup> Gisgo alone stood

<sup>o</sup> Cf. *Universal History*, *ibid.* p. 335. Niebuhr, b. c.

A. C. 202. U. C. 550.

forward against these terms, and the violent behaviour of Hannibal, in opposing <sup>Gisgo.</sup> him, was only excused by his alleged ignorance of Carthaginian manners. The ships were immediately given up, the men collected, and such effects as could not be discovered were estimated by Scipio, and a pecuniary compensation made.<sup>p</sup> This was estimated by the quæstors at 25,000lbs. of silver, and a truce of three months was granted, during which the Carthaginians were allowed to send ambassadors to Rome only.

The supplies from Sicily and Sardinia <sup>Affairs at Rome.</sup> rendered provisions so cheap, that corn was often paid by merchants to the mariners for the freight. Alarm having been excited by the news of renewed hostilities, Tiberius had been sent to Sicily, and thence to Africa, but he conducted matters slowly, being jealous that Scipio had been chosen to prescribe the terms of peace, in preference to himself, the consul. Many prodigies took place, particularly an inundation of the circus. The waters however cleared away

<sup>p</sup> It is said by some that Hannibal, on leaving the field sailed away, and went to king Antiochus, and that when Scipio required that he should be given up, he was told that he had left Africa.



A.C. 202. U.C. 250.

in time for the celebration of the games of Apollo.

30. **Disasters of Tiberius.** Tiberius was exposed to dangerous storms on his passage, between the port of Cosa and Laureta, and in sailing by the Mad Mountains, a still more furious tempest surprised, him and his fleet arrived in a shattered condition at Carales. After remaining in dock till the end of the year, he was ordered to bring home the fleet, and M. Servilius set out for his province, having named C. Servilius dictator. Some storms hindered the elections, and for some days the state had no curule magistrates. The Roman games were thrice repeated by the curule ædiles, but some of those officers being convicted of embezzlement, tended to asperse the character of Lucullus. Two plebeian ædiles, P. Ælius Tubero and L. Lætorius abdicated, in consequence of a flaw in their election. The games of Ceres were celebrated by the dictator, upon a decree of the senate.

40-1. **Affairs at Rome.** After the ambassadors had been received in the temple of Bellona, the joyful news was communicated by L. Veturius Philo to the senate, and then to the people. The elections were then held, Cn. Cornelius

A. C. 201. U. C. 551.

Lentulus, and P. Ælius Pætus being the consuls, the former of whom had a great desire to obtain Africa for his province, but was opposed by the tribunes Q. Minucius Thermus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio. It was referred to the senate, who decreed that matters should be arranged by lot.

A. C. 201.

Scipio's command was prolonged with the same armies,<sup>9</sup> L. C. Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus were to apply to the people, through the tribunes, who should command in Spain, and that the armies there employed should be changed.

The Macedonian embassy was first introduced, who endeavoured to exculpate themselves, and lay blame on M. Aurelius, and demanded that Sopater and the Macedonians taken with him, might be restored. M. Furius defended Aurelius, and asserted that Sopater was one of the king's chief favorites, and had been lately sent with men and supplies to aid Carthage. As they could not deny these charges, the ambassadors were dismissed with a severe intimation that if Philip wished for

42—3.

Reception  
of the  
Macedonian  
and Cartha-  
ginian em-  
bassies.

<sup>9</sup> The rest of the chapter is occupied with the allotment of provinces.

A. C. 201. U. C. 551.

war, he would find the Romans prepared. The Carthaginian embassy was composed of the most respectable persons, Hasdrubal Hædus, the chief opponent of the Barcine faction, being most urgent in his entreaty for peace. All were thus disposed, but Lentulus opposed the senate passing a decree. The tribunes, Acilius and Manucius, then put the question to the people, who agreed unanimously, and the senate ordered Scipio to conclude a peace on such terms as he deemed fit. The ambassadors were also permitted to see their captive friends, and to ransom 200, provided the terms were agreed upon. The heralds were ordered to go into Africa to conclude the treaty, taking flint stones and vervain for the purpose. On surrender being made, the Carthaginian ships, some say to the number of 500, were burnt, the Latin deserters were beheaded, the Roman crucified.

44. This war had lasted seventeen years, the peace under Lutatius had been concluded twenty-three years before its commencement. Scipio often said that the ambition of Tiberius Claudius and Cn. Cornelius had alone prevented it ending in the total destruction of Carthage. So crippled were the enemy in resources

Observations on this war.

A.C. 201. U.C. 551.

that they found it difficult to raise the first contribution money, upon which Hannibal sardonically observed, "that this was the lightest of their misfortunes."

Scipio bestowed Cirtha, and the other cities and lands of Syphax, which had fallen to the Romans, upon Masinissa; ordered Cn. Octavius to conduct the fleet to Sicily, and deliver it to the consul Cn. Cornelius, and the Carthaginian ambassadors to go to Rome, that the terms stipulated might be ratified by the senate and people.

He then entered the city in the most <sup>45.</sup> splendid triumph ever witnessed, carrying <sup>Scipio's triumph.</sup> into the public treasury 123,000lbs. of silver, and distributing to each of his soldiers 400 asses. Syphax died at Tibur a short time before,<sup>r</sup> and was honoured with a public funeral. Q. Terentius Culleo, a redeemed senator, followed in Scipio's triumph, with the cap of liberty, and Scipio himself received the surname of Africanus.<sup>s</sup>

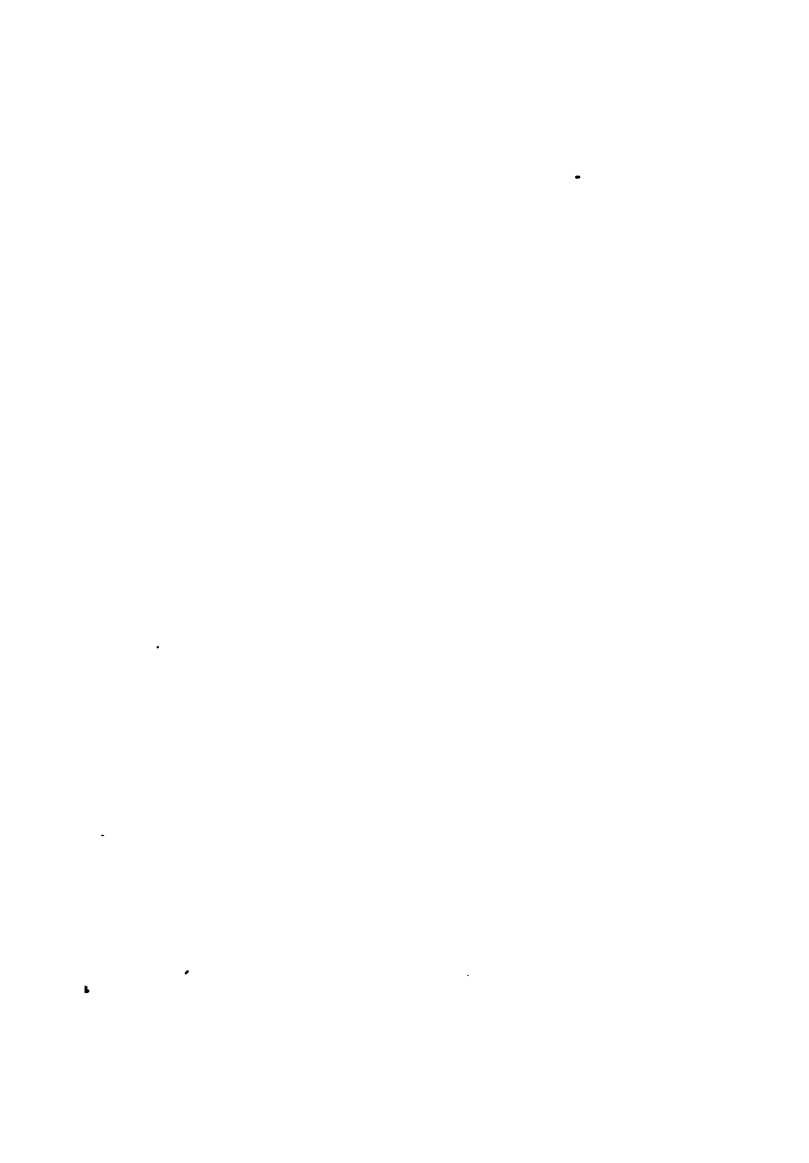
<sup>r</sup> But Polybius says he graced Scipio's triumph.

<sup>s</sup> It is uncertain whether this title was given by the people, the soldiers, or his friends; but see Niebuhr, p. 224.

THE END.







# QUESTIONS

OF THE

SECOND DECADE OF LIVY.

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## BOOK I.

WHAT excited the hatred of Hannibal against Rome?

What factions swayed Carthage at the time, and what influence had they upon the career of Hannibal?

Trace the other motives that influenced him?

Detail the history of the siege of Saguntum?—15.

What was the effect of its result upon the Roman allies?



What preparations were made against the enemy?

Who were the ambassadors sent to Carthage, what debate ensued, and whither did they next proceed, and with what success?—20.

What were Hannibal's hopes, and upon what grounds?—21.

What were his views regarding Spain?

His dream?—22.

Detail his course, and meeting with the Gauls.  
—24.

Why, and how did the Boii rebel?

What do you read of Placentia, Cremona, and Mutina?

How did Manlius prosper?—25.

Who attempted to oppose Hannibal's course?

What stratagem did Hannibal try?—27.

How did his army and elephants pass the Rhone?

What battle took place meanwhile?

How did Hannibal encourage his soldiers?—30.

What geographical difficulties occur in his next course?—31.





Detail the proceedings of P. Cornelius.

Give an account of Hannibal's progress over the Alps.—37.

State the different accounts of various authors respecting his forces, and the course they took.

What circumstance operated in his favour?

By whom was he opposed?

Give a sketch of the orations of both.—45.

What was the conduct and result of the battle?

Whither did Hannibal pursue the Romans?

What facts were evident from this battle?

How did the Gauls behave?

Detail affairs at Trebia and Clastidium. At Sicily, Messana, and Lilybæum.

What do we read of king Hiero?

Describe the engagement off Lilybæum.

What do we hear of Melitia?

Whither did T. Sempronius go?—51.

How did the Gauls proceed?

What forces were collected on the Roman side?

How did Sempronius behave?

What was the stratagem of Hannibal, and its success?

Whither did they fly?

What were the feelings at Rome?

Describe the state of the winter quarters.—57.

Describe Hannibal's next attempt, and its success.

What was the next battle?—59.

How did Cn. Scipio proceed in Spain?

What do we read of Hanno and Hasdrubal?

What was Scipio's next attempt?

Who was Amusitus?

Describe some of the prodigies, and explain *novendiale, ver sacrum, lectisternium, sortes attenuatæ, supplicatio, pulvinaria, Genius*.—62.

How did Flaminius behave?

Was any attempt made to recall him?



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## BOOK II.

WHAT were the feelings of the Gauls towards Hannibal?

Detail the opinions of the Romans regarding Flaminius.

What augmented their fears, and what measures were taken accordingly?

Describe Hannibal's journey through Etruria.  
—2.

What further signs shewed the fate of Flaminius?

Where, and how was he ensnared?

What shewed the violence of the combat?

How many perished on each side?

Describe the effect at Rome.

What was the next disaster?

To whom did they go for assistance?

What were the next measures?



How proceeded affairs at Spoletum?

What were the next operations of Hannibal?

To what did the inspection of the Sibylline books lead?—10.

What were Fabius' plans and system of action?—12.

Detail the affairs in Campania.

What mistake was made?

How did Minucius behave?

Did Fabius change his conduct?

What do we read of Mancinius?

How was Hannibal enclosed, and by what trick did he escape?—18.

Detail his further course.

Whither did the dictator go, and what advice did he give?

Detail the maritime affairs in Spain.—20.

What do we read of Ebusa?

Who were the moving powers in Spain?

How did the Celtiberians behave?

What was the behaviour of Scipio at Saguntum?—22.





How did Hannibal endeavour to injure the character of Fabius ?

How did Fabius act?—23.

What attempt was made by Minucius, and with what success ?

Detail the altercation of Metilius and Fabius.

What do you read of M. Atilius and C. Terentius Varro ?

What dangerous measure was carried ?

How did the two commanders act ?

What was the subsequent behaviour of Minucius ?

Describe the conduct of Servilius in Africa.

What doubts exist respecting Fabius' office?—31.

What do you read of the Neapolitans ?

What took place at Rome ?

Whither were ambassadors sent ?

Give a sketch of Terentius Varro.

What do we read of Bæbius ?

What disputes took place, and what new measures were taken ?

What do we read of Hiero ?

How did Fabius advise Varro?—39.

What was his reply?

In what state were Hannibal's forces?

What attempts did he make?—43.

Give an account of the battle of Cannæ.—49.

Whither did the Romans fly?

What was Maharbal's advice, and how was it received?

What was the effect on the minds of the Romans?—53.

What was Scipio's behaviour?

Describe the state of things in the city, and at Venusia.—54.

What was the advice of Fabius, and what measures religious and military succeeded?—58.

Detail the embassy of the captives, and its reception.

How did some of them behave?

How was Varro received?





## BOOK III.

WHAT do we read of Hannibal at Compsa and Neapolis?

Detail the disputes of the factions at Capua.

Who was Pacuvius Calavius?

Describe the embassy to Rome, and its reception.—5.

How did Vibius Virius behave?

What revolt followed?

Who withstood the popular movement?

Detail the further conduct of Pacuvius.

What do you read of Perolla?

What became of Decius?—10.

What was the result of the mission to Delphi?

Give the detail of Hannibal's exploits up to this time.—11.

What proof was shown?

How did Himilco and Hanno receive the news?

What preparations were made by the Romans?



How stood affairs at Neapolis, Nola, Nuceria ?

What do we read of L. Bantius ?

How did Marcellus succeed ?—16.

How were matters at Acerræ, Casilinum, and what was the effect of Capua upon Hannibal's army ?—19.

How did the Petelini behave ?

State the position of Sicilian affairs.—21.

What subject engaged attention at Rome ?

Who was chosen for the purpose ?

What was his plan of proceeding ?

What great disaster happened in Gaul ?—24.

What was the advice of T. Sempronius, and how did the senate act ?

How were the Scipios engaged in Spain ?

What of the Carpesians ?

Whither went Hasdrubal and Himilco, and how was the former received ?—29.

Detail matters at Petelia and Croto.

What do we read of Gelo ?

What games were now celebrated ?

*What new decrees were passed ?*





How were the troops and provinces allotted?  
—32.

What do we read of Hampsicora?

Detail the transactions of Philip and the Carthaginians.

What was the state of Sardinia?—34.

State the affairs which transpired at Cannæ?  
—37.

What embassy was intercepted, and how did Philip act in consequence?

How stood matters at Nola?

Describe the affairs in Sardinia.

What did the Samnites do?

How was their embassy received?

Describe the battle at Nola?

How did it terminate?

What do you read of Q. Fabius, Jubellius Taurina, and Claudius Asellus?

What was the state of things at Rome?—48.

What means were taken to alleviate the public distress?

What was the result of the siege of Illiturgi?

## BOOK IV.

DESCRIBE the progress of the war in Bruttium at Rhegium, Locri, and Croto.

What temple do you read of?—3.

Detail the life of Hieronymus, and the particulars of his defection from the Romans.—7.

What did Fabius think respecting the choice of consuls, and how was his opinion received?

How was the navy supported?—11.

Give the other arrangements for the war.

How did affairs go on at Campania, Tarentum, Puteoli, Beneventum?

Who were the *volones*?

How did they obtain their liberty?—16.

What was the next proceeding of Marcellus?





What was remarkable in the consulship at Rome this year?—18.

How did the citizens behave?

What do we read of Casilinum?

What took place in Lucania?

Describe the affairs at Tarentum and Salapia.

Give the further progress of the Sicilian revolt at length.

What became of the king's relations?

Describe the siege of Leontini.

Give the history of the chief leaders of the revolt.

How did the sedition extend to Syracuse?—32.

Describe the siege.

Collect all you read of Archimedes.

Describe Syracuse.

What was the fate of Henna?—39.

Detail the proceedings of Philip.—40.

How were matters going on in Spain?—42.

What disputes took place respecting the censors?

Who was the next consul, and how did he assert his prerogative?—44.



What do we read of Altinius ?

How were his family treated ?

Describe the siege of Arpi.

Who came over to the Romans ?

What of Aternum ?—47.

Detail the affairs in Spain, and the conduct of the provinces.



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## BOOK V.

WHAT superstitions harassed the minds of the Romans?

What officers were elected?

How did Postumius behave?

What was the conduct of the Publicani, and what the result?—4.

What do we read of P. Licinius?

How were the levies retarded?

How did the disgraced troops of Cannæ behave, and what was the answer returned?

Describe the sedition at Tarentum, and its capture.—11.

What do we read of Marcius?

What games were instituted?—12.

What was Hanno's success in Campania?—14.

Detail the conduct of the Romans at Tarentum, also of the Metapontines and Thurini.

How was Gracchus forewarned of his fate, and how did he perish?—17.

Describe matters at Capua.

What do we read of Badius and Crispinus, and M. Centenius?—19.

What of Cn. Fulvius?

Describe the siege of Capua.

Detail at length the taking of Syracuse, and mention the parties concerned therein.—31.

Give the progress of the war till the death of the Scipios and the successful rally made by Marcius.—39.

What became of the spoils of Syracuse?

What new leader sprung up among the enemy?

How did he behave, and how was his advice received?





## BOOK VI.

DESCRIBE the military arrangements for the year A. C. 211.

What communications were addressed to the senate, and what was their import ?

What prosecution followed ?

How did he act ?

Describe the progress of affairs at Capua.

What measure did Hannibal adopt ?

What was the state of feeling at Rome, and how did they act ?—9.

How did Hannibal's attempt end ?

Describe his march backward to Rhegium.—11.

How did the Campanians behave ?

What do you read of Bostar and Hanno ?

State the remarks in the Campanian senate.—13.

How did Vibius Virius act ?



Describe the siege.

What do we read of Taurea Jubellius ?

What was the fate of the Campanians ?—16.

Detail the affairs in Spain, under Nero.

What led to the election of P. Scipio ?

Give a sketch of his character.—19.

Describe the triumph of Marcellus.

What foreigners received rewards ?—26.

What revolt took place ?

What took place in regard to the election of consuls ?

Give the other events at Rome.

How stood matters in Ætolia ?

What were the terms of the treaty ?

Detail matters in Acarnania and Anticyra.

What disputes commenced in A. C. 210 ?

How were the Campanians implicated ?

What complaints were made ?

Describe the military arrangements.—28.

Detail the disputes between the Sicilians and Marcellus, and the conduct of the senate ; also the questions raised respecting the Campanians.—34.





What difficulties were raised as to rowers for the fleet?

Who met the difficulty, and how?—36.

Describe the feelings of both sides.

What was Hannibal's new policy?

Detail matters at Salapia and Tarentum.

What do you read of Quinctius and Nico?—39.

What transpired in Sicily?—40.

Describe the siege of New Carthage, and give instances of Scipio's warlike and moral excellence.

—50.

How did he next employ his time?

Whither did he go?

Who was his chief coadjutor?

## BOOK VII.

WHAT was the state of Samnium about this time?

What befel the Romans at Herdonea?

How did Marcellus act?

What took place in Campania?

What embassies arrived at Rome?

What was the statement of M. Valerius?

What dispute took place about the dictator, and who was chosen?—6.

What disagreements followed?

What report did Lælius make at Rome?—7.

How was C. Manlius distinguished?

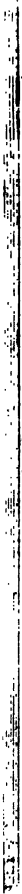
What do we read of C. Valerius?

To what further right did his priesthood lead?

What arrangements were made for Sicily?

Which colonies proved refractory, and how were they treated?





Which stood firm ?

What funds were drawn out for the war ?—10.

Describe the dispute respecting the chief of the senate, and the degradation of the cavalry who had failed at Cannæ.

How did affairs progress at Tarentum and Canusium, up to the taking of the former by Fabius ?—16.

Describe the state of Spain.

How did the chieftains behave ?

What were Scipio's next measures ?

What shewed his moderation ?—19.

Describe the respective plans of Scipio and the enemy.

Who was now accused, and with what result ?

Detail the military arrangements and political events of the year A. C. 208.—23.

What do we read of the Arretians and Etruscans ?—24.

What were the resolutions of the senate respecting the Tarentines and M. Livius ?

What temples were erected ?



How stood affairs at Locri ?

Describe the circumstances leading to the death of Marcellus.—27.

What followed ?—28.

How did Crispinus act ?

How was the Roman fleet engaged ?

Detail the course of Philip in Greece, particularly in Ætolia, Corinth, Elis, and other places, up to the death of Crispinus.

Who was chosen dictator, and what was remarkable in the choice of the new consuls ?—34.

How did they now act ?

Give the other events of the year.

What was the population at this time ?—36.

How were the Romans informed of Hasdrubal's movements ?

How were the levies carried on ?

What arrangements were made for the war ?—38.

Describe Hasdrubal's progress over the Alps.

To what place did he lay siege ?

What were the feelings of the Romans ?

How did Livius behave ?



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Describe the progress of hostilities.

What news of Hasdrubal was obtained, and how?—42.

What was its effect at Rome?

How did Nero behave?

What was the result of the battle?

Describe the whole affair, and the loss on either side.

Whither did Nero betake himself?—50.

What was the effect at Rome, and by whom were they apprised of the news?

What were Hannibal's feelings, and how did he act?

## BOOK VIII.

Who now acted with Scipio ?

Describe the next battle.

Whither did Scipio next go, and to whom  
he leave that province ?

What town was next taken ?

How was the fleet engaged ?

Detail the plans of Philip.—5.

Describe the Euripus.

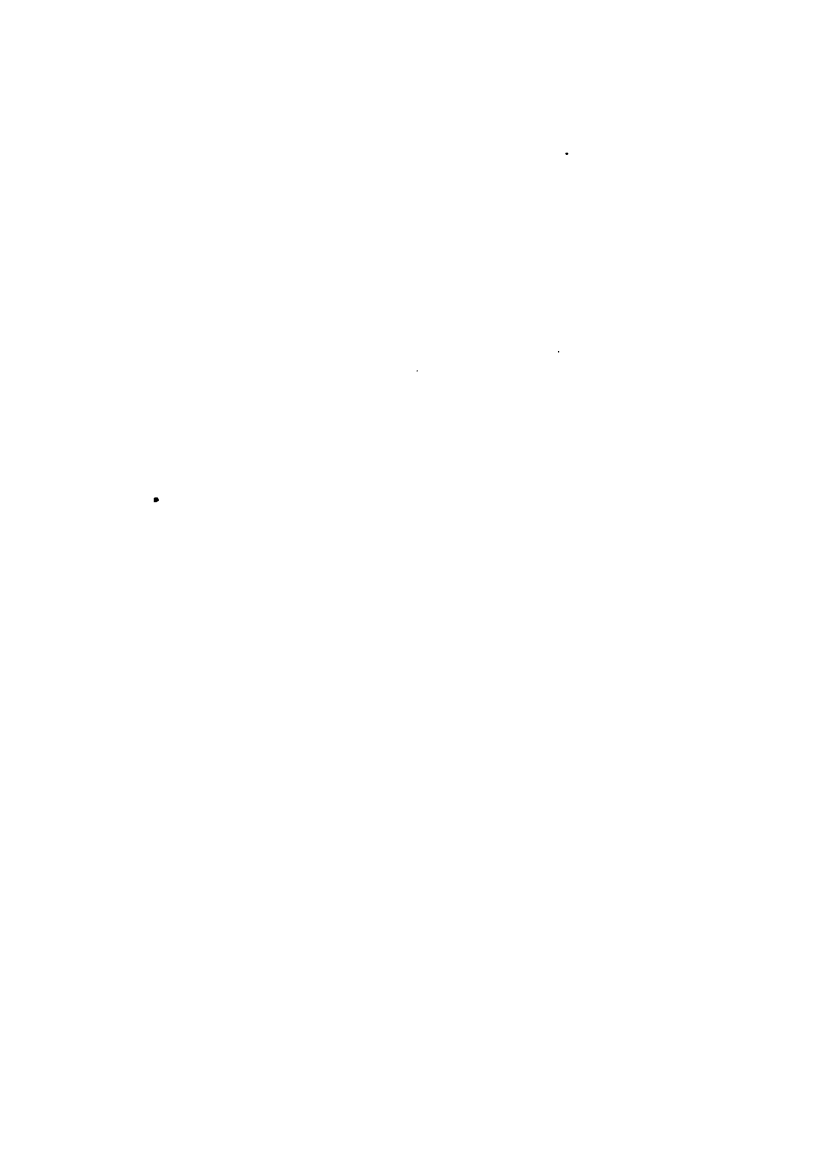
What cities were next taken ?

Who was Machanidas ?

Give a sketch of Philip's speech in the Ach.  
council.

What was his next course ?

Describe the rejoicings and triumph at Ro  
—9.





Give the other events of this period.

How was the city cleared of its excessive population ?

What are Livy's ideas of Hannibal ?

Describe the progress of affairs in Spain up to the next successful battle.

What great ally now joined the Romans ?

Whom did Scipio next wish to conciliate ?

What strange meeting took place ?

What did Hasdrubal think ?—18.

Describe the siege of Illiturgis.

What followed ?

Who were Corbus and Orsua ?

Describe the siege of Astapa.—23.

Detail the particulars of the sedition among the Roman soldiers.—29.

What were Marcius and Lælius doing meanwhile ?—30.

How did Mandonius and Indibilis act ?

What was the result ?

Detail the conference between Scipio and Masinissa.—35.



What were Mago's next movements, and with what success?—37.

What arrangements were made at Rome?

What embassy came to Rome?

Detail the disputes between Scipio and Fabius.  
—45.

How did the people of Etruria act?

What was Mago's next movement?





## BOOK IX.

How did Scipio complete his cavalry in Sicily ?

What were his further movements ?

How did affairs progress in Spain ?

Describe the conference between Mago and the Gauls.

How was Locri recovered ?

What do we read of Pleminius ?—9.

How did the troops of Licinius fare ?

What oracle was brought from Delphi ?

What curious ceremony followed ?—11.

How did the Ætolians and Romans stand in relation to Philip ?—12.

What compliment was paid to Scipio ?

How were the recreant colonies treated ?—15.

How was the public faith kept in regard to the borrowed money ?

Detail the embassy of the Locrians, and the speeches of Fabius and Metellus, and the resolutions passed respecting Scipio.—22.

What led to a dissolution of the friendship of Syphax and Scipio?

How did Scipio thereupon act?

Describe the setting out of the fleet.—27.

What was the effect in Africa?

What were the first exploits of Scipio?

Give a sketch of Masinissa's previous history.

What part did Bocchartake?

What doubt introduces this digression?

How did the Carthaginians raise fresh troops?

Describe the progress of affairs at Utica.

What supplies arrived?

How did Cornelius keep Etruria in subjection?

What affairs were transacted at Rome?—38.





## BOOK X.

GIVE Livy's character of P. Licinius.

Detail the military and other arrangements for  
A. C. 203.—2.

How did matters progress in Africa ?

What stratagem did Scipio adopt, and with what  
success ?—6.

How did the enemy rally ?

What was the event of the next battle ?

Who was recalled in the general terror ?

What small success re-animated the enemy ?

How stand matters in regard to Masinissa and  
Syphax ?—12.

Detail the history of Sophonisba.—15.

What became of Syphax ?

What were the terms of peace demanded by  
Scipio ?



Describe the embassy to Rome.—17.

How did Mago succeed, and whither was he sent?

What was his fate?

Who was now recalled, and what were his feelings?—20.

What rejoicings were held at Rome?

How did the Carthaginians attempt to deceive?

What was the consequence?

Who was recalled from Sicily, and how?

What new breach of faith was committed?

How were the Roman ambassadors treated?—25.

How did the Romans act in regard to Philip?

Give a character of Q. Fabius Maximus.

What fresh cause of anxiety harassed the Romans?—28.

Describe the battle of Zama at length.—35.

What followed?

Were the conditions different from the former ones?—37.

What was the advice of Hannibal, and what do we read of Gisgo?



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What arrangements were agreed upon?

How fared the fleet of Claudius?

How were the ambassadors of Philip and the Carthaginians received?—43.

What were the immediate measures?

How did Hannibal feel the loss of the fleet?

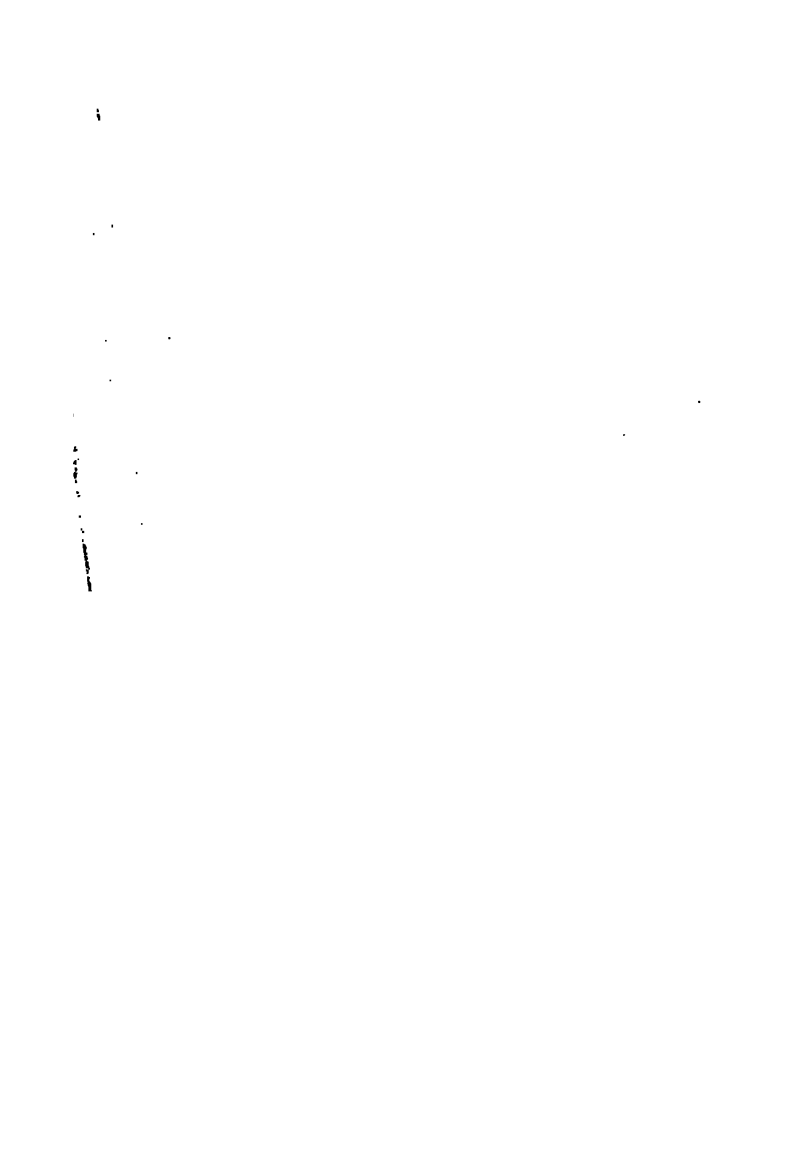
Describe the remarkable features of Scipio's triumph.

THE END.



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